A. J. S. Spawforth

GREEK CULTURE IN THE ROMAN WORLD

Greece and the Augustan Cultural Revolution



CAMBRIDGE

GREECE AND THE AUGUSTAN CULTURAL REVOLUTION

This book examines the impact of the Roman cultural revolution under Augustus on the Roman province of Greece. It argues that the transformation of Roman Greece into a classicising 'museum' was a specific response of the provincial Greek elites to the cultural politics of the Roman imperial monarchy. Against a background of Roman debates about Greek culture and Roman decadence, Augustus promoted the ideal of a Roman debt to a 'classical' Greece rooted in Europe and morally opposed to a stereotyped Asia. In Greece the regime signalled its admiration for Athens, Sparta, Olympia and Plataea as symbols of these past Greek glories. Cued by the Augustan monarchy, provincial-Greek notables expressed their Roman orientation by competitive cultural work (revival of ritual; restoration of buildings) aimed at further emphasising Greece's 'classical' legacy. Reprised by Hadrian, the Augustan construction of 'classical' Greece helped to promote the archaism typifying Greek culture under the principate.

A. J. S. SPAWFORTH is Professor of Ancient History at the School of Historical Studies, Newcastle University. His distinguished list of publications includes *Hellenistic and Roman Sparta: A Tale of Two Cities* (1989; 2nd edn 2002 – co-author with Paul Cartledge); *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 3rd edn (1996; revised 2003 – co-editor with Simon Hornblower, and contributor); *Greece: An Oxford Archaeological Guide* (2001 – co-author with Christopher Mee); *The Complete Greek Temples* (2006); and *The Court and Court Society in Ancient Monarchies* (Cambridge, 2007 – editor and contributor).

GREEK CULTURE IN THE ROMAN WORLD

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CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS
Cambridge, New York, Melbourne, Madrid, Cape Town,
Singapore, São Paulo, Delhi, Tokyo, Mexico City

Cambridge University Press
The Edinburgh Building, Cambridge CB2 8RU, UK

Published in the United States of America by Cambridge University Press, New York

www.cambridge.org
Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781107012110

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First published 2012

Printed in the United Kingdom at the University Press, Cambridge

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloguing in Publication data
Spawforth, Antony.
Greece and the Augustan cultural revolution / A. J. S. Spawforth.
p. cm. – (Greek culture in the Roman world)
Includes bibliographical references and index.
ISBN 978-1-107-01211-0 (hbk.)
1. Greece – Civilization – Roman influences. 2. Greece – Moral conditions. 3. Social change – Greece – History – To 1500. 4. Elites (Social sciences) – Greece – History – To 1500. 5. Ethnicity – Greece – History – To 1500. 6. Acculturation – Greece – History – To 1500. 7. Political culture – Greece – History – To 1500. 8. Cities and towns, Ancient – Greece. 9. Augustus, Emperor of Rome, 63 B.C.–14 A.D. – Influence. 10. Hadrian, Emperor of Rome, 76–138 – Influence. I. Title.
DF240.S67 2012
938′.09 – dc23 2011032625

ISBN 978-1-107-01211-0 Hardback

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Acknowledgments

I have been thinking about the ideas which this monograph explores for many years. Some of the initial research was done in 1995/6 when I had the privilege of a year's Membership of the Institute of Advanced Study, Princeton. I am grateful to Christian Habicht, and also to Christopher Jones, for discussions and encouragement during that year in the USA, when the groundwork for this book was laid in the form of the opportunity for intensive reading. I am pleased to acknowledge a particular, and varied, debt to Glen Bowersock, above all as author of *Augustus and the Greek World*, a book which underpins all subsequent scholarship in this area. In 2005/6 I returned to this project during a semester of sabbatical leave granted by Newcastle University, which I was able to extend to a full academic year thanks to an award under the Research Leave Scheme of the Arts & Humanities Research Council (AHRC), UK. I am grateful to the AHRC not only for the original award but also for the two extensions which they granted to the initial deadline and for their permission to deviate somewhat from the original research proposal. A further debt was incurred when Newcastle University permitted me two successive semesters in 2010 in order to revise the book, by then under contract to Cambridge University Press. After Princeton, most of the research was done in the Joint Library of the Hellenic and Roman Societies, Institute of Classical Studies, London. My warmest thanks go to Colin Annis, Sue Willetts, Paul Jackson and colleagues for the high quality of the support provided by this outstanding facility. I am grateful to students and colleagues at Newcastle, past and present, who have created the stimulating environment of *historiē* from which this book, in part, has emerged. My greatest debt is to the scholars without whose works, listed in the bibliography, this book would never have come to fruition. For specific support of various kinds, including generously offered sight of unpublished work, I am grateful to Jean-Sébastien Balzat, Birgit Bergmann, Costas Buraselis, John Camp, Livia Capponi, Paul Cartledge, Kevin Clinton, Monica Haysom, Ralf

von den Hoff, Simon Hornblower, Jan Jordan, Amalia Kakissis, Stephen Lambert, Maria Gabriella Lilli, Lina Mendoni, Ben Millis, John Moles, Cathy Morgan, Thorsten Opper, Andrew Parkin, Jeremy Paterson, Chris Pelling, Charo Rovira, Federico Santangelo, Geoffrey Schmalz, Thoralf Schröder, Rowland Smith, Rosalind Thomas, John Wilkes, Jakob Wisse and Greg Woolf. Alexandra Lesk generously gave me access to her Cincinnati PhD thesis on the Erechtheum. Audiences in London, Tallahassee, Sparta, Seville and Berlin listened to papers based on parts of this book; I am deeply grateful for all comments received. I am indebted, for the constructive criticisms of drafts of the book, to the series editors and to the long report of an anonymous assessor. I have responded to these comments to the extent that I have felt able; remaining mistakes and shortcomings are, of course, entirely my own. At the Press I thank Elizabeth Hanlon, Anna Hodson and Sarah Roberts for their efficiency and helpfulness in the production process. Finally I am deeply grateful to Michael Sharp, Classics Editor at Cambridge University Press, for his support for this book at all its various stages.

CHAPTER 1

Introduction
Greece and the Augustan age

This is a book about the relationship between Roman moral discourse and the cultural comportment of provincial Greeks. It argues that, during the transition at Rome from republic to monarchy (late first century BC and early first century AD), a deep-seated and, under Augustus, quasi-official concern to shore up Roman *mores* was communicated to the Greeks. This had the effect of reshaping local cultural profiles, most markedly in the cities and sanctuaries of Greece itself, which are the focus of this book. At the provincial end, crucial agency in this process was provided by the local notables. This elite stratum openly collaborated with Roman power in the east. Its members played a cornerstone role in the political society of the early imperial era, signalled by their possession of the *civitas* in increasing numbers from the triumviral age on. Their mounting exposure to cultural 'Roman-ness' gave rise to new forms of identity which make the blanket term 'Greek' too reductive as a cultural denominator, despite Greek remaining their first language. The view taken here of Greek ethnicity is avowedly non-essentialist: 'things have no essence, no "core"'.[1]

A decisive role in what was, in effect, a process of Greek acculturation to Roman values is attributed here to two Roman emperors: firstly Augustus, founder of the Roman imperial system, whose rule – it is argued – constructed an 'official' Roman narrative of Hellenism based on an ideological favouring of 'old' Greece and the traditions of Athens and Sparta; and, secondly, Hadrian, who powerfully reinforced this narrative in the course of his cultural politics on an unprecedented scale in the Greek east.

Recent scholarship suggests improved ways of understanding the complex dialogue between 'Roman-ness' and 'Greekness' in the period under study. Andrew Wallace-Hadrill proposes a 'cardiac' model of the cultural role of Rome at this time. In the first centuries BC and AD the imperial

[1] Malkin 2001: 1.

capital is the pumping heart of the Mediterranean, its cultural voracity sucking in the ideas and goods of Hellenism from the east, and transforming them 'by oxygenation into "Roman" blood' which is then diffused both westwards *and* eastwards. Thus Rome becomes a force for 'hellenisation', which was also, in this context, a mode of 'Romanisation'. Wallace-Hadrill illustrates this model primarily through material culture, e.g. the Athenian imitations of Roman lamps. The model is taken a step further here, where it is proposed to see, in effect, a 're-hellenising' under Roman influence of Hellenism itself, or rather, of aspects of the forms of Greek cultural expression controlled by the stratum of eastern provincial notables, including Greek civic identity.[2]

On one level it is argued that relations of power explain the capacity of this 'Roman' Hellenism to reorder the cultural behaviour of people who in origin were non-Roman. However, the approach taken here is in contrast with current scholarship which emphasises, on the contrary, the distance between Roman power and the culture of the Greek elites in the period under study.[3] A force underpinning normative Roman attitudes to Hellenism sufficiently compelling as to reorientate the cultural behaviour of provincial Greek notables needs to be identified.

Recent scholarly work on Roman morality emphasises that Roman moral discourse was 'concerned overwhelmingly with the behaviour of the upper classes'.[4] This is a crucial point for this book which is focused on the social stratum in the provinces most closely identified, politically and culturally, with the Roman elite. Central too is the Foucauldian emphasis in recent scholarship on the cultural construction of gender as a linchpin in Roman self-definition and on sexual dominance as a defining quality of Roman manliness.[5] These approaches stress the problem posed to elite Roman manhood by the Roman feminisation of Greece and Greeks.

> In choosing to negotiate the delicate balance between Greek and Roman, sophistication and vigour, in terms of the supposedly straightforward distinction between 'male' and 'female', Romans exposed the problematic nature of their conceptions of gender. It might seem easy to identify Romans as characteristically masculine. Yet to identify Greeks and Greek culture as feminine was to compromise too much of Roman culture and society. (Edwards 1993: 96)

[2] Wallace-Hadrill 2008: esp. chs. 1 and 4. Cardiac model: 27, 361 (quotation). As will become clear, the writings of Andrew Wallace-Hadrill have done much to shape the ideas and arguments of this book.

[3] E.g. Swain 1996. [4] Edwards 1993: 24.

[5] For a nuancing of this view in the case of the ambiguous category of boyfriends of Roman emperors, where 'there *is* power in being passive', see Vout 2007 (p. 21 for the quotation).

It is the aim of this book to show that Augustus, in the sense of his whole regime, along with its helpers and enablers, responded to this dilemma by signalling, within an existing Roman debate about Hellenism, a more virile Greece compatible with the philhellenism which was now too deeply embedded at Rome for its eradication to be either feasible or desirable. The conceptual tool for achieving this end was the distinction which Romans already made between 'good' and 'bad' Greeks. The place of this distinction in the attitudes to Greeks found in Roman literature has been summed up as follows:

> Where a significant contrast [between Greeks and Asiatics] is intended, the distinction is not between Greek and non-Greek, but between *different varieties* [my italics] of Greek, and its precise form depends on the writer's purpose. It may be used to depreciate the Asiatics by suggesting that they possess undesirable characteristics in greater measure than other Greeks; conversely, it may be used to exalt the Greeks of old Greece and to represent them *as more truly Greek* [my italics]. When the distinction is ignored, it is usually, no doubt, for the purpose of tarring all Greek-speaking peoples with the same brush, but occasionally the object is to attribute to them all the merits more commonly reserved to the old Greeks and in particular the Athenians. (Petrochilos 1974: 20–1)

As this summary suggests, the distinction in question was anything but hard and fast: slippage into a general condemnation of Greekness remained an option for Romans until well into the second century AD.[6] What is apparent too is that the expression of a cultural alignment on the part of Greek-speakers in the eastern provinces with any given *Roman* attitude to Hellenism is not straightforward to identify, since both provincial and (in this particular respect) Roman elites were operating within the same broad cultural field (Hellenism, that is). This is a methodological difficulty which can be overcome, this book believes, by paying sufficient attention to historical and social context. An example, encountered in Chapter 3, is the highlighting of the battle of Salamis in Athenian civic culture at a time when Actium was being persistently compared with Salamis by the Augustan regime. On the other hand, Plutarch claims that manipulation of the memories of the Persian Wars by local politicians could stoke up popular patriotism to dangerous levels.[7] Not only elite Romans, but elite

[6] Note Juv. 3.58ff.; 8.112ff.; 10.173; 11.100; SHA *vit. Avid. Cass.* 5.10, a letter to Marcus from his praetorian prefect describing legionaries in Syria who had lost their discipline as *Graecanici milites*. The elder Pliny, who perhaps captures the mood of Flavian Rome, is replete with anti-Hellenism: 3.16.122; 5.1.4; 8.34.81; 15.5.19 (*Graeci vitiorum omnium genitores*); 19.26.86; 28.29.112; 29.7.1; 37.11.31. In Hadrian's youth the charge of *Graeculus* still had force: SHA *Hadr.* 1.5.

[7] Plut. *Prae. ger. reip.* 814e.

Greeks, walked a tightrope when deploying cultural traditions which could mean different things to different people. As will be seen, under the principate civil unrest, even rebellion, remained an occasional threat to the pax Romana in Greece.

THE AUGUSTAN 'MORAL REVOLUTION'

> Augustus tried to bind together a fragile Roman world not only by military force but by common values, values derived from Roman tradition and consciously stamped with Romanness. (Wallace-Hadrill 1993: 97)

Central to the argument of this book is the scholarly acceptance in recent years that in the Augustan 'restoration' of the Roman state the moral and the political were inextricably entwined. The Romans believed that morality (*mos* or *mores*) was one of their supreme defining qualities as a people. The other was *virtus*, (in its traditional sense) martial excellence, the two being totally interdependent in Roman moral thought. The Romans had only one explanation for the cataclysmic upheaval that was the collapse of the Republic: the ethical one of corrupt *mores* among the Roman upper class.[8] Wallace-Hadrill has characterised the collapse of the old system and its replacement with a new political dispensation – the Augustan principate – as a *mutatio morum* or 'cultural revolution', where 'culture' is defined as 'the sum total of practices and beliefs that differentiate one people from another'. This idea of a 'wholesale shift in the Roman value system' is cardinal in any assessment of the reform programme of Augustus and the intensity of the ideological atmosphere in which it was carried out.[9] What underlay this revolution, it has been argued, was nothing less than the depoliticisation of Roman citizenship with the advent of the imperial monarchy:

> The transformation of citizenship from a reciprocal bundle of rights and obligations to a form of social dignity is basic for Roman cultural identity. Citizenship is no longer expressed through actions (voting, fighting) but through symbols: it becomes urgent to define culturally what "being Roman" is about when it is reduced to a socio-legal status. (Wallace-Hadrill 2008: 452)

The cultural definition of Roman-ness constructed by Augustus was powerfully focused on *mores* and powerfully reactive to recent Roman debates about moral decline. Here I accept that there existed such a thing as

[8] Wallace-Hadrill 1997: 9.

[9] Quotations: ibid., transposing the expression found in Cic. *Leg.* 3.31. Galinsky 1996: 9 prefers 'evolution' to 'revolution'. Wallace-Hadrill 1989: 160; 2008: 453–4.

Augustan 'ideology', which, like Roman imperial ideology in general, did not arise from relations of class dominance and subjection in an anachronistically modern Marxist sense, but was constructed through 'intersubjective relations' between the participating groups on a basis of shared core values.[10] I accept here too the proposition that ideology informed all Augustus' reforms, not just the overtly political ones. Regarding the climate in the capital in which these reforms were carried out, it is Wallace-Hadrill, once more, who has pointed to the force of the word *scelus*, 'a word which carries some but not all of the implications of the Christian "sin"', used by Horace to characterise the immorality of the late republican elite. He goes on to argue that there were Messianic undertones to Augustan ideas which may well have owed something to Roman awareness by this date of Judaism. On this view, many Romans believed that a saviour was needed to absolve them of sin.[11]

The idea, explored in recent scholarship, that Augustus sought to reassert traditional gender roles as part of a larger programme of Roman moral recuperation is also key to the arguments of this book. Roman authors, it has been claimed, saw lapses in female chastity as a symptom of the general disorder of the late republic.[12] N. Shumate has fruitfully compared this kind of gendered ideological stance with modern discourses of national regeneration. These likewise form their 'backbone' on 'the idealization of the national past and the implication of issues of gender and sexuality in that process'. Horace's 'Roman' odes, the ones (3.2, 3.5, 3.6) with an overtly political content which, on the face of it, serves to support and elaborate on Augustan moves to restore Roman morality, can be read as promoting an ideal of pristine masculinity (*virtus* in the traditional, martial, sense) and as offering the reader 'a generic bad woman [as] the primary barometer of social and moral decline'.[13]

Arguably the Roman audience for complex poetry was relatively small and select. Augustan culture also confronted a mass audience with its ideas by means of the visual arts (see further, below). Recent scholarship has detected a 'gendered discourse' in the monuments of Augustan Rome.[14] Singled out as a short case study here is a theme in Augustan public art which illustrates – so it is argued below – the stark tone of this 'gendered discourse'. Massed sculptural representations of 'sinful' women in the city's key public spaces are a marked feature of the Augustan rebuilding of

[10] Ando 2000: esp. 222–3. Note also Zanker 1988: 101; Galinsky 1996: 8 and 81 (denying an 'ideology' in the modern sense). Milnor 2005: 50 n. 7.
[11] Wallace-Hadrill 2004: esp. 174–6. [12] Edwards 1993: 42–7. [13] Shumate 2006: 69, 75.
[14] Kellum 2003; Milnor 2005.

Rome. The earliest of these groups formed part of a portico in the new sanctuary of Palatine Apollo which Octavian dedicated in 28 BC. The statues in question have been characterised as a 'disturbing yet surprisingly prominent element in the decorative scheme'.[15] They depicted the 'crowd' (*turba*) of the Danaids, fifty sister–wives of Greek legend who committed the crime of killing their cousin–husbands on their wedding night. The inclusion on the Palatine of the instigating figure of their father Danaus, his sword drawn, makes clear that the iconographic emphasis – rarely in ancient depictions of the myth – was on the crime itself.[16]

This group can be compared with the Caryatids – repeated architectural supports in the form of young women – which decorated both the so-called 'Pantheon' of Agrippa in the Campus Martius and the Forum of Augustus, showcases of the regime, dedicated respectively in 25 BC and 12 BC. Here the art-historical reconstruction is more serpentine. In the case of the Forum, fragments have survived in the form of female figures copying the 'maiden' statues supporting the north porch of a building on the Athenian Acropolis, the Erechtheum.These Forum figures are known to have originally numbered over fifty, arranged high up as decoration for the attic storey. The effect on the viewer at ground level, it has been suggested, would have been 'overwhelming'.[17] The term 'Caryatids' is applied in ancient literature to the Pantheon figures only, our sole source, the elder Pliny, adding that they were commissioned from an Athenian sculptor, one Diogenes. It has been argued that survivors from these Pantheon Caryatids should be recognised in another four replicas of the Erechtheum maiden-figures found in Hadrian's villa at Tibur. On the view of Pieter Broucke, these figures were salvaged from the Pantheon during this building's Hadrianic reconstruction. They confirm, if Broucke is right, that Diogenes modelled the Caryatids of the original Pantheon on the Erechtheum of his native Athens.

The point of this brief art-historical digression is to establish that Romans of the early principate would have viewed all these figures as what they called 'Caryatids'. It is precisely under Augustus that this term first appears in Latin literature along with a Roman aetiology for which there is no precedent in earlier Roman *or* Greek tradition. The text is the *De Architectura*

[15] So Milnor 2005: 51.

[16] So Kellum 2003: 279. Other recent discussions include Sauron 1994: 502–3; Gurval 1995: 123–36; Milnor 2005: 51–2, 64–5. Divergent art-historical views of the possible appearance of the Danaids: Balensiefen 1995 (herm-type females wearing the peplos, an identification accepted, e.g., by Stewart 2004: 145); *LIMC* 5.1 (1990) 588 (a seated female carved in the round).

[17] Sauron 1994: 121 n. 195.

of Vitruvius, published in the first half of the twenties BC. This work is addressed to the new princeps, but its prefaces 'go far beyond ritual obeisance to the regime'. It clearly aligns itself with Augustan ideology, and does so in an ambitious way, as 'a labour to save the world'.[18] This alignment is detectable in the Vitruvian aetiology of the Caryatids.[19] Vitruvius explicitly states: '. . . . if anyone erects marble statues of robed women, which are called Caryatids, on his building [. . .] this is how he will explain them to enquirers'. He then shows how the figures represented the humiliated women of Greek Caryae, a Laconian town on the Spartan periphery, who were forced to bear their heavy loads, while dressed in all their womanly finery, in perpetual atonement for their community's treachery to the Greek cause during the Persian Wars. The Persian Wars context has a decidedly Augustan ring (see Chapter 3). This Vitruvian version turns the Caryatids themselves into distinctly Augustan figures by identifying them as married women (*matronae*) and clothing them in the *stola*, a Roman female garment frequently depicted in early imperial art and symbolic of 'female virtue and modesty'.[20] The peculiar fit with different Augustan strands raises the possibility that this aetiology – as others have already suggested – was created by Vitruvius himself, or rather reworked by him, to suit the moral climate of Rome in the twenties BC, when Augustus was already planning his programme of social and moral legislation.[21] Vitruvius, if so, could be seen as another member of the 'class of cultural brokers and image makers' associated in modern research with the phenomenon of invented national tradition.[22] The apparent absence of a strong aetiology for the Erechtheum figures in their original Athenian context – the Erechtheum accounts simply call them *korai*, maidens – would have reduced the likelihood of a challenge to the authority of this transformed meaning.

As with other visual manifestations of Augustan ideas, scholars continue to debate the symbolism of these representations. Political and cultural allegories have been read into both Danaid and Caryatid groups: in the case

[18] See Wallace-Hadrill 2008: ch. 4 ('Vitruvius: building Roman identity'); 148, 149 (quotations).

[19] On this point: Gros 1989.

[20] See Zanker 1988: 162–6 with fig. 131; Sebesta 2001: 48–9.

[21] Vitruvian invention: Schneider 1986: 105 with n. 688, where Schneider argues for the basic historicity of the episode.

[22] Vitr. 1.1.5; Plin. *HN* 36.11. Agrippa's so-called Pantheon, perhaps originally a temple of Mars and a memorial to the donor's land victories: A. Ziolkowski, *LTUR* 4 (1999), 54–6. Forum Augustum: V. Kockel, *LTUR* 2 (1995), 289–95 (with bibliography). Nisbet and Rudd 2004: 99 (probable first attempt by Octavian at social legislation before 27 BC). Broucke 1999 (Tivoli copies) with Lesk 2005: 262–80. Recent interpretations include: Wesenberg 1984a–b, followed by Rowland and Howe 1999; Sauron 1994: 120–1; Schäfer 1998: 105; Milnor 2005: 110–15. 'Cultural brokers': Shumate 2006: 76–7.

of the former, a reference to Cleopatra (Danaus was Egyptian by origin), or a generalised allegory for civil war (the Danaids murdered their close kin); in the case of the latter, triumphal symbols of Augustus' subjugation of foreign peoples or – something quite different – the 'embodied concept of traditional religiosity'. There is good reason to think that the 'meaning' of these figures may have been multivalent for their Augustan producers no less than their Augustan viewers: 'gender encodings, even at the most basic level of reading, are not transparent'.[23] I suggest that there has been insufficient attention paid, in recent assessments of intended meanings, to the Augustan gendering of the threat to Roman *mos*. The overriding fact is that these massed figures all denoted female crime or punishment, with a specific focus on the transgressions of married women, as Patrick Marchetti has seen in the case of the Danaids.[24] To create these striking and – in the context of the city of Rome – highly unusual sculptural effects, relying on the iteration of the female figure, it was necessary for Augustan artists to identify, by recycling of existing myths or by invention, aetiologies which implicated large groups of females at a time (fifty Danaids, all the married women of Caryae). Whatever additional signification they may have had for producer or viewer, these representations had the effect of introducing into the heart of imperial Rome an eye-catching, unmissable, sculptural shorthand for 'bad' or 'culpable' wives. It is tempting to relate these and other choices in public sculpture under Augustus to the same castigatory mood which produced, early in the second decade of the reign, legislation to protect Roman marriage and the Roman family. This included the *lex Iulia de adulteriis* in 18 BC, which permitted a Roman father, in certain circumstances, to kill an adulterous daughter with his own hands – to many today, a shocking prescription.[25]

For the project of this book it is essential to demonstrate that Augustan concern for the morality of Roman women was matched by an equal concern for the shoring up of Roman manhood. Recent work has emphasised the great prestige of traditional *virtus* in ancient Roman values. Formed on *vir*, 'man', the word in its traditional sense denoted an ideal manliness which manifested itself in martial excellence. Attention has been drawn

[23] Kellum 2003: 276. [24] Marchetti 2001b: 458 with n. 14.

[25] See Edwards 1993: 37–42 at 38, with earlier literature; Galinsky 1996: 128–40. As Edwards notes, the 'certain circumstances' 'may have been deliberately impractical'. Note too the Augustan taste for sculptural depictions of the slaughter of the children of Niobe: in ivory relief on the doors of the temple of Palatine Apollo, and in free-standing sculptures in the Horti Lamiani, property of L. Aelius Lamia, *cos*. AD 3 and a friend of Augustus (for these see Sauron 1994: 604–5, with an Augustan date for the statuary). Here Stewart 2004: 1148–9 sees a moralising ethos at work of a different sort: 'exempla of human transgression upon the divine realm'.

to a nexus of overlapping idealisations in Roman republican writers associating *virtus* in this traditional sense both with *antiquae mores* and with the greatness of Rome as measured by her military success.[26] It has been shown too that the inculcation of this core Roman value was a central aim of the combat training which many ancient writers emphasise as crucial to Roman military success:

> *Disciplina militaris* both promoted formally rational elements and created a *sens pratique* in the Roman elite as to how they should command, train, and manage soldiers, and how they themselves should live in *militia*. (Phang 2008: 36)[27]

Tenets of this Roman military masculinity included active sexual roles, dietary austerity and generally the avoidance of luxurious behaviour: that is, morality entered into Roman army discipline too:

> If one were to ask the Romans to explain their success in building and maintaining their empire, it is unquestionable that a large part of the answer would be the discipline of the army. By this Romans seem to have meant a certain sophistication of tactics and organization; but *disciplina*, or *askēsis*, also had an important moral dimension; it is the opposite of decadence and luxury, and it is easily corrupted by money and peace. (Mattern 1999: 203)

Recent research emphasises the emasculation of the Roman citizen male as a significant concern of Roman writers in the late republic. Writing in the aftermath of Caesar's assassination, Sallust condemned the 'softening' of Roman troops through their exposure by Sulla to Greek luxury, a theme taken up in the next generation of Roman historians by Livy (see the next section). Adulteresses impugned Roman masculinity since they implicitly exposed husbands as 'not men enough to control their wives'. In a passage which seems to anticipate the Augustan moral programme, Cicero implicates adultery (by linking *libidines* with the birthrate) in the social disorder for which his prescription is 'strict legislation' (*severis legibus*).[28] Directly engaging with Augustan concerns, Horace's third book of *Odes*, published in 23 BC, has been read as an explicit manifesto for a Roman *virtus* under threat:

[26] Passages cited in this regard include Enn. *Ann*. 156 Skutsch ('The Roman state is built on ancient *mores* and *viri*') and Cic. *Phil*. 4.13: '*virtus* is the badge of the Roman race and breed . . . With this *virtus* your ancestors conquered all Italy first, then razed Carthage, overthrew Numantia, brought the most powerful kings and the most warlike peoples under the sway of this empire.' See Edwards 1993: 20–2; Galinsky 1996: 84; McDonnell 2006: 2–3.

[27] *Sens pratique*, a concept borrowed from Pierre Bourdieu, is defined by Phang 2008: 31 as 'a durable, ingrained disposition of thinking, feeling, and behaving that is characteristic of a given field'.

[28] Sall. *Cat*. 11.5 and Cic. *Pro Marc*. 23 (46–45 BC), noted by Galinsky 1996: 8.

A literal reading of this word ('manliness', or comportment proper to men) is authorized by the comprehensive gender scheme . . . The robust youth (*robustus puer*) of *Odes* 3.2 is enjoined to cultivate his *virtus* by devoting himself to the hardy military life with its open-air existence and constant dangers . . . There he will learn the value of the stripped-down life (*pauperie*) and will, it is implied, develop an aversion to its opposite, *luxuria*, the unmanning force that had been identified as the root of social and national catastrophe in Roman moralistic discourse since the late Republic . . . Archaic warrior values thus appear to be invoked as a proper paradigm, at least in some circumstances, for the contemporary young Roman male to embrace. (Shumate 2006: 69)

The Augustan programme sought to associate itself with a traditional masculinity. On the level of symbols, *virtus* in the traditional military sense was one of the four virtues proclaimed on the golden shield (*clipeus virtutis*) with which the Senate honoured Octavian at the same time as it dubbed him with the title 'Augustus', in 27 BC.[29] As for practical measures, in what sounds like an audible echo of Horace Augustus reorganised the military training of the sons of Roman knights and senators, reflecting in so doing a concern to induct the rising generation in traditional *mos*.[30] Maecenas' speech in Cassius Dio (52.26) specifically implicates masculinity in this project by specifying 'softness' (*malakia*, the Greek equivalent to *mollitia*), along with laziness, both typical elements of female physiology in ancient thought, among the unmanly behaviours which training should remedy. Augustus addressed the military *virtus* of the army rank and file too. According to an admiring Suetonius, he 'imposed the most severe military discipline, including the revival of antique punishments'.[31] As regards the elite male, his moral legislation sought to achieve the arguably impossible by, as it were, legislating for *virtus*. Penalties for husbands who put up with adulterous wives highlighted the preference of the regime not only for good wives but also for 'strong and vigilant' husbands who policed their womenfolk's behaviour as of old.[32]

Augustus addressed morally sapping *luxuria* by the power of *exemplum*, personal example, a communicative strategy to which Romans attributed great force when wielded by their political leaders.[33] Famously he chose to live in a surprisingly modest house for a member of the Roman

[29] Galinsky 1996: 82, pointing out that these virtues refer to events preceding 27 BC: '*virtus* in that context is the traditional *militaris virtus*', a point overlooked by McDonnell 2006: 385 in arguing that *virtus* here is the ethical kind, coined on *aretē*. Rightly: Eck 2003: 3, 93; Levick 2007: 18.

[30] *OCD*[3] s.v. *iuvenes* (B. Levick).

[31] Suet. *Aug.* 24. Alston 1998 stresses that Roman soldiers as such, because their subaltern status deprived them of personal freedom, 'did not conform to aristocratic ideals of virility'.

[32] Edwards 1993: 61. [33] Wallace-Hadrill 1997: 9 citing Cic. *Leg.* 3.31.

elite, for reasons that were clearly – over and above any other factors – ideological.[34]

Luxury was one of the specific threats to *mores* posed in Roman discourse about a feminised '*Graecia*'. This book argues that there were sufficient strands in Roman attitudes to Greece to permit Augustus to build on one Roman image of Greece in particular and to present it, because less tainted with *mollitia*, as therefore more fitting for the cultural usages of Romans, and as meriting maintenance and embellishment through 'cultural work' in the province of Greece itself.[35]

ROMAN IMAGES OF GREECE

By the late republic philhellenism was an enthusiastically embraced component in the cultural identity of the Roman political elite, both in private and in public – a fact too well known to need lengthy discussion here. The process whereby elite Romans of the middle and late republic identified supposed Greek moral failings in order to highlight superior Roman qualities, as part of the larger cultural task of constructing a Roman 'national' identity partly in opposition to 'Greece', has also been thoroughly explored.[36] More recent research has considered the place of 'Greece' in the Roman discourse of moral decline, and in particular the Roman tendency to link the Roman practice of Greek culture with effeminacy and un-Roman luxury: an important point for this book.[37]

As Nikos Petrochilos noted, Roman linguistic usage tended, by implication, to tar all Greeks indiscriminately with these vices. As outsiders, Romans routinely subsumed an undifferentiated Greek-speaking world under the rubric of *Graecia*, which in this sense began on Rome's doorstep, in southern Italy.[38] They also applied the term *Graecus* not only to people whom the Greeks themselves (and the Romans after them) considerered ethnically Greek but also to the hellenised populations of Asia and Egypt.[39] This usage tended to the dilution of Hellenism as an ethnic category, at least in Roman eyes, especially when the Romans started to allow these hellenised easterners, from the first century BC on, to style themselves

[34] Suet. *Aug*. 72. Edwards 1993: 163–8; Wallace-Hadrill 1993: 26. Archaeology supports the literary claims of (relatively) simple living. The argument is not undermined by ancient gossip about the youthful Octavian's morals. For ancient perceptions of such stories see Vout 2007: 1–5.

[35] For the concept of 'cultural work': Alcock 1996: 248.

[36] Petrochilos 1974; Wardman 1976; Gruen 1993; Wallace-Hadrill 2008: 448–9.

[37] Edwards 1993: esp. 22–4, 92–7.

[38] E.g. Cic. *Balb*. 24.55 (Calliphana of Velia described as *ex Graecia*).

[39] Petrochilos 1974: 18.

officially as 'Hellenes' in provincial *concilia* and other administrative contexts. There was a danger here that in Roman hands the standard ancient terms for 'Greek' (*Graeci*, *Hellēnes*) were becoming little more than synonyms for *peregrini*, free members of non-Roman communities in the provinces.[40]

In response to the broad and reductive semantic range which Roman usage gave to 'Greek', a strand in Roman discussions about Greekness articulated a more graduated approach to Greek ethnicity. Its essential aims seem to have been, firstly, to enable Romans, when it suited them, to separate out a geographical and historical 'Greece' which could be presented as more in keeping with Roman values and therefore as the 'true' (*vera*) Greece: a Greece whose past glories Romans 'tended to idolize', along with those dead Greeks, statesmen, lawgivers, generals and orators, whose creation it was.[41] Separating out the 'true Greece' also permitted the Romans to accommodate a burgeoning 'Orientalism' as the republic came into closer contact with the near east. Its expression was influenced by Roman exposure to traditional ethnic stereotypes in Greek culture – Cicero makes this quite clear – and incorporated an oppositional or bipolar model based on the Classical Greek ideology of the barbarian, one privileging a masculine Greece over a feminine Asia.[42]

In Roman hands Cicero is the first to articulate this more hierarchical view of Greek ethnicity, which he structures most fully in the *Pro Flacco* so as to offer a damaging contrast between Asian Greek witnesses ('bad Greeks') and ones from Europe ('good Greeks'). This was a law-court speech before Roman jurors. Its purpose is clearly rhetorical, but there is no justification for thinking that the viewpoint is 'merely' rhetorical: Cicero takes care to develop his argument in some detail, and we are entitled to infer that he was manipulating a Roman reality at the time (59 BC), one fanned by Roman memories of the recent disloyalty of Asian Greeks in the Mithradatic War. The essence of the contrast is that Asian Greeks were by definition servile (and by implication therefore feminine), an argument which Cicero supports by quoting traditional Greek stereotypes about Phrygians and Lydians.[43] The Greeks of Europe alone constituted the 'true and authentic Greece' (*vera atque integra*), distinguished as they were by reputation and glory (*fama . . . gloria*), by cultural achievement (*doctrina* and *plurimae artes*), and also by empire and military renown (*imperio et*

[40] Ferrary 1996: 187–8; 2001: 32–3. [41] Henrichs 1995: 244.
[42] The classic exposition is Hall 1989; see too the papers in Malkin 2001.
[43] See the comment of Syme 1979: 570: 'In the mass the Greeks of Asia are irresponsible and deceitful, schooled to excess in the arts of flattery through the long ages of enslavement.'

bellica laude). Although Romans of the late republic saw Macedon as part of the 'Greek empire',[44] Cicero was not calling any Macedonian witnesses for the defence, and his imperial and martial reference is clearly to the wars of Classical Greece giving rise to the Athenian and Spartan empires: the Persian Wars, which won Greece (Athens and Sparta above all) *gloria*, and the Peloponnesian War. Cicero singles out Athens and Sparta for brief eulogies expressing a widespread and enduring Roman view, as later writers make absolutely clear.[45] In a 'mythical view of Athens that is as artificial as it is sublime', Cicero presents Athens as taking the palm for pioneering the arts of civilisation (*humanitas*).[46] Sparta demanded Roman admiration for her 'renowned *virtus*', which flourished because it was supported by a remarkable *disciplina*. Cicero's Roman audience will at once have seen the parallelism – flattering to Sparta – with Roman martial *virtus*, likewise resting on *disciplina militaris*.[47]

They may even have been taken aback. Cicero's presentation here arguably went against the grain of Roman attitudes to Greek military prowess in this period, which were generally unflattering. They remained so in the patriotic history of the Augustan historian Livy.[48] It is important for the argument of this book, however, that the option was available in Roman writers of the late republic to read Greek *virtus* more favourably, above all in connection with ancient Athens and Sparta and some of their generals. Even the elder Cato, who was famed for his anti-Hellenism, conceded *virtutes* to Leonidas, the hero of Thermopylae.[49] In his work *On Illustrious Men*, probably first published in the thirties BC, Cornelius Nepos praised the Greek achievement at Marathon and Salamis more enthusiastically than any other republican author. By ascribing *virtus* to foreigners, including the Athenians collectively as well as individuals such as the Spartans Agesilaus and Lysander, Nepos allowed the possibility for figures from Greek history to be admitted to the Roman 'virtuous circle'.[50] These earlier Roman discussions of the Greek military achievement rendered less disconcerting the ideological elevation of the Persian

[44] *Rhet. Her*. 4.25.1.

[45] As well as Plin. *Ep*. 8.24 (see ch. 5), note Plin. *HN* 4.1.1: 'All the legendary lore of Greece and likewise its glorious literature' (*omnis Graecia fabulositas sicut et litterarum claritas*) originated in European Greece, defined here as the Balkan peninsula starting with NW Epirus (the Acroceraunian mountains) and ending with the Hellespont.

[46] Henrichs 1995: 261.

[47] Cic. *Flac*. 61–4. See Vasaly 1993: ch. 6, esp. 192–205.

[48] Petrochilos 1974: 93–104; Wardman 1976: 74–101. Livy: e.g. 27.30.5, the Aetolians were more *ferox* than comports with Greek character. On Livy see below.

[49] Gell. *NA* 3.7.29. See Gruen 1993: 82 on Cato's nuanced use of this episode, while noting that 'Cato's point was not to detract in any way from the glory of Leonidas.'

[50] Petrochilos 1974: 94–5; Sarsila 2006: 115.

Wars in Augustan culture, and not just in Greece but in Rome itself (see Chapter 3).[51]

Going back to Cicero's portrayal of a servile Asia in the *Pro Flacco*, repeated elsewhere in his writings,[52] this picture drew on Roman knowledge of Greek proverbs and the Greek comic playwrights. In this period the same idea penetrated the Roman mind from knowledge not just of the literature, but also of the art, of Greece. This is shown by an impressive wall-painting – a recreation of a lost original – from the luxury villa of an unknown elite Roman at modern Boscoreale on the Bay of Naples, allegorising the Macedonian conquest of Asia. From her rocky seat in Europe a manly woman personifying Macedonia (her expression is masculine, she wears a male *kausia* and she bears Macedonian arms) thrusts her spear with both hands across an inky Hellespont, resting its tip on Asian soil at the feet of a mournful Asiatic female who is placed on a lower plane signifying inferiority. Dated to about 60–30 BC, this painting successfully pictures the proposition that conquest feminises the conquered. It is perhaps the most striking visualisation to have survived from classical antiquity of a gendered opposition between an active Europe (the conqueror) and a passive Asia (the conquered).[53]

The same ethnic stereotype was deployed by Roman writers who attributed Roman moral decline to corruption by Greek luxury. Here I accept the recent rejection of traditional notions that Roman moralising discourse was a 'tedious commonplace' in favour of the view that what are reflected here are 'the anxieties of those who wrote [these texts]'.[54] This discourse placed a particular emphasis on the corruption of Roman austerity by Greek booty, a process for which different authors provide a range of turning points. Once a speech attributed to the elder Cato which references Greek luxury is discounted as a Livian invention, among Roman writers the theme, as far as it implicated *Graecia*, can be traced back to the annalist L. Calpurnius Piso Frugi, consul in 133 BC, before becoming strongly present in the moralising writers of the later first century BC.[55] In

[51] For positive evaluations of Greek martial merit by imperial writers note Sen. *Ben.* 6.31.11 and Gell. *NA* 11.18.17, both cited by Petrochilos 1974: 94 n. 1.

[52] E.g. *Ad Q. fr.*1.1.16, 19.

[53] Smith 1994. The painting recreates a lost early Hellenistic original. Smith argues for a relationship with Roman campaigns of eastern conquest in the late republic.

[54] On the reality of these anxieties Edwards 1993: 176; Wallace-Hadrill 2008: 448.

[55] For Liv. 34.2–4 (Cato's alleged speech) see Briscoe 1981: 39–42 ('There can be no doubt that the speech of Cato is a free composition by L[ivy]'); Gruen 1993: 97–8, seeing 'Augustan clichés' in the references to Greek luxury. Piso: Lintott 1972: 628–9. Polyb. 9.10.1–12 with Gruen 1993: 97–8. See now the sophisticated re-reading of *luxuria* in Wallace-Hadrill 2008: ch. 7, with discussion of its literary presentation, Greek echoes, and underlying social dynamic.

Sallust's *Catiline*, written around 42/1 BC, Asia is the site of the corruption of Sulla's men by a softening luxury foreign to *mos maiorum*.[56] Asia is demonised in a far more sustained way in Livy's history of Rome, where the theme receives its greatest development to date in what survives of Roman literature. This is no coincidence. Livy, who lived through the triumviral age and started to publish his work in the twenties BC, specifically sought to write an improving history which displayed the life and morals of ancient Rome and their decay to their present state (*pr.* 9–11). Although no 'spokesman for the [Augustan] regime', he was a friend of the princeps and they shared common moral concerns and ways of thinking which in turn were typical of many Romans of the time. His Orientalist ascription of ethnic degeneration into Egyptians to the Macedonians of Alexandria, for instance, is clearly a swipe at Octavian's foe Cleopatra, who liked to emphasise her Macedonian ancestry.[57]

This passage appears in a speech which is regarded nowadays as almost certainly a Livian invention. Other Livian passages which stigmatise Hellenism, including, as seen earlier, the view attributed to the elder Cato in 195 BC, also appear in speeches.[58] By referencing 'trinkets' (*ornamenta*) from Corinth and Athens, this latter speech implicates Cicero's 'true' Greece in its strictures against 'Greek' luxury: a reminder that no hard-and-fast divide between 'good' and 'bad' Greeks existed in the Roman mind.[59] Livy like Sallust gives Roman corruption by Greek luxury a specifically Asiatic dimension, although he prefers a date in 187 BC, the return of the Roman general Cn. Manlius Vulso's troops from their campaigns against the Galatians.[60] Orientalism as defined by Edward Said, with its implicit or explicit Eurocentrism, informs, as we just saw, Livy's view of the *longue durée* of the Macedonian diaspora, where the narratological context is, again, an invented speech, one put into the mouth of the same Vulso, addressing his men in 189 BC before the Galatian campaign.[61] The viewpoint forms part of a climatic argument claiming that transposition to the soil and climate of Asia causes European stock to degenerate: not only the Macedonians of Alexandria and Syria, but also Gauls, who

[56] Sall. *Cat.* 11.5.

[57] Liv. 38.17: Briscoe 2008 ('almost certainly L[ivy]'s own invention'). Cleopatra: Spawforth 2006a: 5–7. 'Spokesman': *OCD*[3] s.v. Livy (J. Briscoe).

[58] See too Liv. 45.23.15, the Rhodian speech to the Senate (167 BC), with its strong echoes of the presentation of Athens and Sparta in Thuc. 1.70–71: views inappropriate to the Livian historical context and so held to have been inserted by Livy himself: so A. Schlesinger, editor of the Loeb edition.

[59] Liv. 34.4.3 (alleged speech of Cato: see n. 55). On 'Corinthian' as a Roman product label see Wallace-Hadrill 2008: 373–5.

[60] Liv. 39.6.7.

[61] The classic work on 'Orientalism' remains Said 1978.

degenerated into *Gallograeci* thanks to the feminising influence of life 'in a land most rich, under a sky most kindly, among natives mild in disposition', in a word, the '*amoenitas*' of Asia.[62] In speeches or opinions attributed to others Livy repeats this theme of the degeneration of the *Gallograeci*; he also articulates (through 'Glabrio') a contrast between Rome's warlike European enemies (Macedonians, Thracians, Illyrians) and the soldiers of Antiochus III, implicitly feminised as 'Syrian and Asiatic Greeks, the basest races of men, born to servitude', and (through Pyrrhus) a reductive view of Alexander the Great's victories, won over an unwarlike (*imbellem*) Asia, a nation of women.[63] In other 'Orientalist' passages the authorial narrator, Livy himself, not an alleged speaker, is the focaliser or source of the point of view: the corruption of Alexander's Macedonians by Persian *mores* (inside the digression on Alexander), the corrupting effect of Asia on Roman armies and, of course, the characterisation of Vulso's Galatian campaign as a moral turning point for Rome.[64]

Livy's moralising Orientalism constitutes a marked strand in what survives of Livy's history – an impression on the modern reader which the lost books covering the wars of the late republic would surely have reinforced. Modern commentators have not overlooked this 'constant stereotyping of foreigners', which cannot be dismissed as a mere commonplace. 'What is the "topos" if not the expression, however banal, of a great truth?'[65] In Livy the topos may well have expressed the common prejudices of the non-political classes of Augustan Italy of whom the author himself, hailing from Patavium (Padua), has been seen as the 'consummate representative':[66] an important point, since the cultural programme under Augustus is sometimes seen as essentially a triumph of Italy (the elites of its towns, that is) over the old Roman aristocracy.[67] The Livian stance surely reflects the historical experience of eastern foes among Romans of Livy's generation: alongside memories of Mithradates, the more recent encounters with the Parthians and, above all, Antony and Cleopatra, heavily

[62] Liv. 38.17. Cp. 38.49.4, 'Manlius' speaking to the senate (*degenerem et emollitum amoenitate Asiae*). Livy implies (47.1: *accepi*) that he found the speech in his source, although this has been doubted: Briscoe 2008: 163.

[63] Liv. 36.17.5–6, *Syri et Asiatici Graeci, vilissima genera hominum et servituti nata*; probably an invented speech: Briscoe 1981: 245. Cp. 35.49.8, the eastern troops of Antiochus III little better than slaves on account of their servile nature (Flamininus speaking, although this particular passage may be Livian: Briscoe 1981: 8). 9.19.10–11 ('Pyrrhus', but probably a 'Roman' invention: Oakley 2005: 255).

[64] Liv. 9.18.3; 39.1.3, anticipating 6.7. Focalisation in literary analysis: Hornblower 1994b: 134–5 with refs.

[65] Jürgen Habermas, cited by Ando 2000: 67. [66] Galinsky 1996: 280–7.

[67] Notably in Syme 1939: esp. chs. 29–30. On this interpretation of Syme note the caution of Wallace-Hadrill 1997: 4–5.

'Orientalised' in Augustan culture.[68] As we saw earlier, the gendered ethnic stereotyping found in Classical Greek literature was certainly known to Cicero. Livy also draws on Greek pseudo-science – as in the speech of 'Vulso' – which assigned feminised ethnogenetic qualities to the climate and soil of Asia.[69] This climatic argument drew on much older ideas of Greek ethnography which the lost works of the polymathic Posidonius of Apamea (*c.* 135–51 BC) seem to have 'renewed' for use by the Romans.[70] As Claude Nicolet has argued, in the first century BC a Roman milieu reworked these ideas into a new model which received its finishing touches precisely under Augustus. According to Vitruvius, who here, to be sure, captures the mood of the regime, it was now Rome (not Greece as in the older Greek tradition) which constituted the ideal centre of the world, a position prefiguring, indeed requiring, Rome's imperial destiny.[71] Half a century later, this Rome-centredness became the point of departure for the poet Lucan's explicitly 'Orientalist' idea that every step 'eastwards' (*quidquid ad Eos . . . ibitur*) takes Romans into the 'torrid zone' (*tractus mundi . . . teporem*), lands where the climate softens (*emollit*) people, so that even the men wear loose, flowing (that is, feminine), garb. This view measures the effeminacy (and thus immorality) of eastern peoples according to their longitudinal distance from Rome.[72]

This section has shown that Roman culture of the late republic was not univocal in its moralising attitudes to 'Greece'. Roman writers exposed to Greek culture adopted a taxonomy of Greekness which permitted, but did not *require*, the moral ranking of European Greece over the Greeks of Asia. This precedence was based on an evaluation of martial exploits as well as Greek (above all Athenian) services to *humanitas*. It was underpinned by the emergence in first-century BC Rome of an intellectually fragile, but apparently popular, Roman doctrine of climatically induced ethnic diversity which supported particularly negative views of 'Asia'. To judge from Livy not least, the series of Roman encounters with eastern enemies in the later first century BC, above all Cleopatra, led to a hardening of these views. They have rightly been characterised as constituting an 'anti-Asiatic

[68] Verg. *Aen.* 685–688 is perhaps the *locus classicus*: lines perhaps influenced by Augustus' lost autobiography: Ando 2000: 141. For paradoxical 'Egyptomania' in Augustan Rome: Wallace-Hadrill 2008: 357–8 with refs.

[69] Above, n. 18. [70] Sassi 2000: 125–39 at 133.

[71] Nicolet 1988: 208, citing Vitr. 6.1.10. Wallace-Hadrill 2008: 149–50.

[72] Lucan 8.363: *Quidquid ad Eos tractus mundi teporem / Ibitur, emollit gentes clementia caeli*. For Lucan's use of *quidquid* here in the sense of *in quantum*, 'in as much as', see Mayer 1981: 110. The implication of longitude suggests an ultimate debt to Posidonius: see Strab. 17.3.10; Sassi 2000: 128–9.

reflex' among Romans of this period, one sufficiently compelling to shape Roman debates about 'best practice' in Latin and Greek oratory, as we shall see in the next section.[73] This book argues that the Augustan project of a recuperation of traditional morality steered the regime towards the idealisation of a Hellenic cultural practice distanced from Roman images of a congenitally unmanly 'Asia'. For Romans already attuned to the binary opposition between Europe and Asia, European Greece, above all Athens and Sparta, offered itself as an obvious symbol of an 'ethical' Hellenism more conforming to traditional Roman values, one underpinned, moreover, by the climatic doctrine. A century later, this same doctrine allowed the Roman poet Martial effectively to equate the normative body types of Roman and 'Attic' women: Italian and (European) Greek physiologies could be conceived as more or less the same.[74]

AUGUSTAN CLASSICISM

This book's focus on Greece is required by its core argument, which is that elite Greek culture under the principate was, in its most characteristic forms, in direct dialogue with *Roman* ideas about a Hellenism suited to Roman usage. That said, the most important site for the Augustan idealisation of Classical Greece was Rome itself. The capital was the primary field for the expression of Augustan 'classicism', in the modern, quasi-technical, sense of a conscious return for inspiration and ideals, after an intervening age perceived as one of stylistic decline, to 'the art and literature of a period held to represent a peak of quality or perfection'.[75] Under Augustus, this classicising mood is particularly detectable in two distinct fields: art commissioned by the regime, such as the architectural Caryatids discussed earlier, and debates in Augustan Rome about style in oratory. For the purposes of this book, emphasis is needed on the way in which Augustan classicism had not only a chronological, but also a geographical, referent. That is, this classicism operated on the bipolar principle already met with: it idealised, not a generalised *Graecia* (needless to say!), but specifically the *Graecia vera et integra* of the fifth and fourth centuries BC, and took its force from a simultaneous rejection of decadent influences conceptualised as 'Asian':

[73] Hidber 1996: 36.

[74] Mart. 11.53, on the 'Roman' appearance of a British woman, Claudia Rufina: *Romanam credere matres Italides possunt, Atthides esse suam*. The translation of 'Atthides' as 'Greek' (thus Kay 1985: 185) does not do sufficient justice to the nuances of 'Attic' in Roman thought.

[75] *OCD*[3] s.v. classicism (Philip Hardie). Hidber 1996: 14–25 for the threefold schema and its intellectual origins.

The contrast on which the ancient debate centres is a geographical, not a chronological one: Asia versus Attica. It is the east which is constantly blamed for luxury, immorality and stylistic bad taste [. . .] How far the Roman could distinguish the classical from the hellenistic is unclear to me; he could certainly tell apart Athens from Tralles and Alabanda. I suspect that we would get further if we shifted the focus of discussion away from 'classicism' and thought more about the moral values Augustus attaches to the west. (Wallace-Hadrill 1989: 162)

Turning to the use of classicising formulae by Augustan artists in the renovation of Rome's public spaces, the work of German classical archaeologists has established that Roman culture endowed Greek sculptural styles with ethical meanings. Paul Zanker saw this idea, that stylistic options incorporate moral values, as central to understanding the relation between image and ideology under Augustus.[76] In art, the desire to communicate these meanings constituted the main reason for a Roman sculptor's imitation of such-and-such an earlier Greek artist in the creation of a particular artwork:

. . . this does not necessarily imply that, when these forms were borrowed by Roman artists, there was a conscious recourse to this or that epoch of the past. Besides deliberate retrospection, there is undoubtedly also the possibility of the simple disposition of established forms, without reflection on their historical pedigree.[77]

This is a cardinal observation. It is true that a geographical referent in Augustan artistic classicism might be read into the clear primacy of European Greece among the *origines* of the most famous sculptors of old who provided the most prestigious models for Roman workshops, with the Peloponnese (Polyclitus, Lysippus) and Athens (Alcamenes, Myron, Phidias) predominant. It might be argued, however, that this geographical dimension was at best secondary, reflecting no more than the historical fact of the artistic occlusion of other parts of the Greek world in the Classical centuries by the artistic efflorescence of Greece proper. Yet, in an Augustan context, it seems inconceivable that the choice of a Polyclitan model (the Doryphorus or Spear-bearer) for the official portrait-type of Augustus was not tacitly sanctioned by the Argive, and thus European–Greek, origins of Polyclitus himself, as no doubt it also was by the the martial subject-matter of the prototype.

A geographical dimension to Augustan classicism is present in the apparent rejection for use at Rome in major, public, artworks of the Hellenistic 'baroque' style native to western Asia Minor, a style easily recognisable even to the non-specialist by its pathos and movement. Although no Roman

[76] Zanker 1988; Wallace-Hadrill 1989: 160. [77] Hölscher 2004: 21.

writer that we know of expressly stigmatised this style as 'Asian', the elder Pliny famously defined the period from 296/93 to 156 BC as the age when, where bronze sculpture was concerned, 'art ceased' (*cessavit . . . ars ac rursus olympiade CLVI revixit*).[78] Precisely to this period can be dated the chief manifestation of Hellenistic 'baroque', namely, the 'school' based on the Attalid kingdom of Pergamum. Andrew Stewart points out how the defining traits of this style invite close comparison with the type of oratory which Roman critics denigrated under the bogeyword 'Asian':

> What the sculpture handbooks describe as theatricality, grandiloquence, emotionalism, energy, pictorialism, and floridity, and define as a penchant for extreme contrasts, novelty, and surprise – all this translates quite precisely into Asian rhetorical terms.[79]

I now turn to the debates in first-century BC Rome about correct oratorical style. These debates stemmed from a momentous turning point in the development of Latin rhetoric, which became teachable precisely in this period and thus available as a special skill, by mastering which individuals could rise in Roman society.[80] The civil struggles of the triumviral age saw the politicisation of these stylistic debates. A passage in the *On Illustrious Orators* by Dionysius of Halicarnassus, a Greek intellectual working in Augustan Rome, attributes to the cultural leadership of Augustan Rome a strongly signalled preference for an 'Attic' over an 'Asian' speech style in *Greek* oratory.[81] This well-known passage belongs to a body of evidence for the Roman use of these two stylistic catchwords, none of it earlier than the first century BC. In a continuing debate among scholars over the significance of these terms, some progress has been made. 'Asian' has been shown to have had no objective referent: that is, it never describes a rhetorical movement with teachers and schools.[82] Writing under the Flavians, the rhetorician Quintilian claimed that the Roman orators among Cicero's contemporaries who described themselves as Atticists (*Attici*) defined the rhetorical style of Cicero as 'Asian' (below). An excellent case has been made for placing the first appearance of these Roman *Attici* around 60 BC. It is reasonable to see both these terms, since they functioned in opposition to each other, as roughly simultaneous creations in Roman rhetorical discourse. In the absence of direct evidence, the identity of the creators remains contentious. The writer C. Licinius Calvus, son of a Roman senator, was the leader of

[78] Plin. *HN* 34.51ff. [79] Stewart 2004: 228. Hidber 1996: 21–2 [80] Wallace-Hadrill 2008: 255–6.
[81] Dion. Hal. *De Or. Vet.*, preface, 1–3, in the re-edition of the preface, with text and commentary, in Hidber 1996: 88–92 [88–135].
[82] Delarue 1982.

these mid-century *Attici*. I side with the minority view that also makes him the originator of the rhetorical movement which he led.[83] This view is supported by the oppositional character of these terms, which look very Roman in their 'transposition of long-established Roman prejudices against the culture of the eastern Mediterranean'.[84]

That members of the Roman elite could style themselves by the Greek quasi-ethnic 'Attic', if only within the specific field of oratory, strikingly confirms the Roman adoption by this date of an idealised Athens as a paradigm of the 'best' in Greek high culture.[85] Philhellene Romans were aware of this traditional perception of Athens among Hellenistic Greeks, not least the royal dynasties, whose architectural gifts to Athens were unmissable to any Roman visitor (Chapter 6). The 'Grecising' label 'Attic' avoided affronting Roman *mores* by its explicit homage, not to post-Sullan Athens, with its recent history of disloyalty to Rome, but to the long-dead Athenian orators of the Classical age.

In the stylistic register of Roman oratory, 'Asian' functions essentially as a term of abuse.[86] A Roman used the term to impute to others (never himself) an oratorical floridity which Romans saw not merely as Greek by definition but specifically as the hallmark style of the oratory of Hellenistic Asia Minor.[87] The antagonistic force of '*Asianus*' began its long life in ancient thought – to return to a point made earlier – in the fifth-century BC polarity between Greeks (especially Athenians), manly and victorious in war, and 'Asiatic' Persians, feminised as soft and servile. As Edwards has seen, in Roman hands much of the power of 'Asian' as a taunt lay in its implicit charge not only of cultural impropriety but also of 'Hellenising' effeminacy.[88] This gendering of the rhetorical opposition between 'Attic' and 'Asian' can be detected with the earliest appearance of the terms.[89] When Calvus and his followers chose to call themselves *Attici* in deference to their models among the Classical masters of Athenian oratory, by implication they asserted the compatibility of the public profession of an 'Attic' oratorical comportment with traditional ideals of Roman *virtus*. According to the Flavian rhetorician Quintilian, when the *Attici* criticised Cicero's Latin oratory they labelled him as '*Asianus*'. The catalogue of

[83] Wisse 1995: 67–9 (date); 76–7 (Calvus as originator). The more usual view, maintained by Hidber 1996: 35, is that the originators were Greeks living in Rome.
[84] Rightly Connolly 2007: 155.
[85] Hidber 1996: 29 ('Qualitätsmark für eine höchste geistige Kultur'). [86] Pelling 1988: 119.
[87] Cic. *Brut.* 13.51 for the style of 'Asiatic orators' (of whom he is not entirely dismissive, however). Cp. Quint. *Inst.* 12.16.1ff. For the unusual case of a Greek rhetor defining himself as 'Asian' (*professus Asianus*) in a Roman context note Sen. *Contr.* 10.5.21.
[88] Edwards 1993: 92 with n. 97. [89] Swain 1996: 22–3.

oratorical shortcomings which this deprecatory term spanned included not only bombast but also rhythms (*compositio*) which were 'almost womanly' (*paene . . . viro molliorem*).[90] Quintilian himself recoiled from this imputation. As for Cicero, he was aware of, although not obsessed by, the need for virility in oratorical performance.[91] Cicero also suggests the underlying moral signification for Romans of the 'speech of Athens' (*Attica dictio*) by using corporeal analogy to characterise it as 'dry' and 'uncorrupt' (*quasi sicce et integre*) – and thus the proper speech style of the healthy (male) body.[92]

In the generation between the mid-century and the battle of Actium, the terms of this debate broadened significantly because prominent Romans made a linkage between oratorical style and the contemporary political decadence which triggered the civil war between Octavian and Antony and the fall of the republic. As is now fairly widely recognised, the turning point seems to have been the decision of Octavian to attack Antony through his oratory.[93] Political invective, as here, could target an opponent's oratorical style because the Romans understood oratory as 'first and foremost a moral virtue, not a mere technique for speaking': oratorical style revealed the (Roman) man.[94] A problem for the Roman elite was that the attempt to formulate styles for a properly Roman oratory necessarily engaged with the only model available to Romans, namely, the much older tradition of Greek oratory. Openings for political enemies arose from the fact that precisely their reputation for eloquence constituted one of the generic vices of 'Greeks' in Roman eyes. Thus the fault of *volubilitas* which for Octavian revealed Antony's 'Asian' manner was a well-known failing of Greek speech generally.[95] Octavian's charge is found in Suetonius (*Aug.* 86.2–3), who states that Octavian mocked Antony's 'perverse and inconsistent taste in choosing an oratorical style' (*ludens malum et inconstans in eligendo genere dicendi iudicium eius*) and accused him of wanting to 'introduce into our tongue the verbose and unmeaning fluency of the Asiatic orators' (*An potius Asiaticorum oratorum inanis sententiis verborum volubilitas in nostrum sermonem transferenda?*). Plutarch gives further details. According

[90] Quint. *Inst.* 12.10.12. Note too Tac. *Dial.* 18.5, criticism of Cicero as 'limp and enervated' (*solutus et enervis*) and 'emasculated and loose in the loins' (*fractus atque elumbis*): discussed by Gleason 1995: 106–8.

[91] Gleason 1995: ibid.

[92] Cic. *De or.* 4.12 cited by Boutin 2005: 158. Cp. Cic. *Brut.* 13.51, praising the *salubritas Atticae dictionis et quasi sanitas*, 'the wholesome and in effect the good health of Attic diction'.

[93] Hidber 1996: 42. [94] Gunderson 2000: 67, 87–110.

[95] Petrochilos 1974: 35–7 citing Val. Max. 2.2.2. Note Bloomer 1997: esp. 209, 214 on the concerns of the elder Seneca to promote a 'virile' declamatory style distanced from Greek practice.

to him, the young Antony was taught 'the Asianic style' (*Asianos zēlos*) as a student in Greece, where this style of oratory was 'flourishing' at the time, around 58 BC. In a negative vein reflecting (and accepting) the polemic of his Roman source, Plutarch continues: the style 'was very similar to his [Antony's] way of life', which was 'swashbuckling and boastful, full of empty exultation and distorted ambition'.[96] Finally, the historian Cassius Dio, again echoing anti-Antonian invective, explicitly Orientalises this same, crucial, connection between oratorical style and personal immorality: it was Antony's way of life that was 'Asian' and 'Egyptian' (*asianōs te kai aiguptiōs*).[97]

As scholars have seen, the cultural stance which Dionysius of Halicarnassus instantiates reflects this politicisation, in the Rome of the triumvirs, of the opposition between 'Attic' and 'Asian' styles.[98] What is novel is his transposition of these categories, recently minted by Romans in debates about Latin oratory, to a discussion of Greek oratory. The Romanity of his expression of these ideas is clear. In particular, his strongly worded deprecation of the 'Asian' style as (1.7) 'Mysian or Phrygian or Carian' precisely echoes its (milder) characterisation in Cicero as, again, the product of 'Caria, Phrygia and Mysia'.[99] So insistent is his identification with the Roman viewpoint here that Dionysius, a Carian Greek from Halicarnassus, is prepared to stigmatise his own ethnicity. It seems beyond reasonable doubt that this process of transposition occurred, as others have suggested, in the bilingual milieu of late first-century BC Rome. This conclusion requires acceptance of a proposition which modern Hellenists have traditionally resisted, although historians of Roman imperialism are less troubled by it:[100] at this date, 'Greeks seriously took notice of the Romans and their ideas.'[101] Why this proposition should encounter such modern resistance is puzzling, given that Dionysius makes clear that what was at stake was overwhelming Roman power. Greek oratory had now become a (Roman) affair of state. Writing around 25 BC, Dionysius expressly attributes to the collective leadership of the Augustan regime the aim of guiding Greek taste. His 'despots' (3.1: *dunasteuontes*) are not identified, but the expression makes natural sense as a specific reference

[96] Plut. *Ant*. 2.8. Cp. Pelling 1988: 119–20 and 26 (source).
[97] Cass. Dio 48.30.1.
[98] Note Zanker 1988: 239–40; Hose 1999: 287; Hölscher 2004: 53.
[99] Hidber 1996: 111–12, noting Cic. *Flac*. 65, without bringing out the servile undertones of these ethnics.
[100] Note Ando 2000: 51–2, referencing this passage of Dionysius: 'the efflorescence of Greek civic life almost always bore the stamp of Roman approval'.
[101] Wisse 1995: 79.

to Augustan Rome's ruling circle.[102] The oratorical style of Augustus himself is nowhere called 'Attic' but it clearly stood in the tradition of the *Attici*;[103] moreover, he and Agrippa were sufficiently enthused by the art of public speaking to attend the semi-public performances of the Latin *and Greek* declaimers in Rome (Chapter 2). Finally Dionysius implies that there was pressure on Greeks from above to accept this guidance. Rome had conquered the world, she had 'coerced' (3.1: *anagkousa*) all cities into looking to her for leadership: the 'language of violent imperialism' on one recent view.[104] As to the form that this pressure took, it is precisely Agrippa whom we find encouraging Greek cultural classicism by building a new Athenian home for the 'Attic muse', the Agrippeum or Odeum of Agrippa (Chapter 2).

The core question which this passage poses remains to be addressed: why did the Augustan regime problematise *Greek* oratorical styles in the way that, apparently, it did? There is more than one way of answering this complex question. The denigration of Antony, whose memory was still fresh in the twenties BC, clearly entered into the equation, as we saw earlier, but this can hardly be the whole explanation for what was, one should not forget, a Roman apostrophisation of the grave matter of Greek male self-presentation through speech-acts. Dionysius makes this clear: at issue were the genres of political oratory employed, not by Romans, but in provincial Greek cities.

Emilio Gabba reads into the passage a critique of Antony's former supporters in the eastern cities and the political oratory which they employed to win over the 'ignorant masses' (1.3: *tēn tōn ochlōn agnoian*).[105] Unlike Cicero a generation earlier, who expressly excluded contemporary Athens from the taint of the 'Asian' orators,[106] Dionysius (1.6) characterises the contagion as spreading from Asia to Greece, where it infected 'the highly civilised (*poleis*) as much as any'. On Gabba's reading, this point of difference would reflect a later course of actual events, the historical reality that Greece in the thirties BC was held by the triumvir Antony, that Athens lent him its enthusiastic support, and that his partisans did indeed include

[102] Rather than the looser reference to Roman 'aristocrats' named by Dionysius as addressees, an interpretation favoured by Hidber 1996: 119–20.

[103] Suet. *Aug*. 86: *genus eloquendi . . . elegans et temperatum*.

[104] 'Forceful language': see Whitmarsh 1998: 3. Whether Dionysius is expressing ambivalence about Roman power here or not is, in a way, beside the point: cp. Ando 2000: 67 apropos authorial 'sincerity': 'What matters is that the words were spoken, that they possessed meaning, that they contribute to the reconstruction of a historical situation.'

[105] Gabba 1991: ch. 2, broadly accepted by Swain 1996: 25–6.

[106] Cic. *De or*. 8.25.

orators, such as M. Antonius Aristocrates of Argos.[107] For what it is worth, Athens, indeed, is the specific destination of the 'billowing and formless wordiness' said to have migrated from Asia in a late and isolated reference to this first-century BC Roman oratorical debate.[108] Dionysius explains (3.1) that the reinstatement of the 'Attic muse' came about when the Augustan regime 'honoured' (*kosmoumenon*), that is, promoted, *to phronimon*, the 'sensible' element, in the Greek cities,[109] by which can only be meant the pro-Augustan local notables. Apparently Dionysius is claiming that the regime encouraged Greeks of this type to signal their ethical propriety (and political compliance) by following 'Attic' models in their oratory, based on the famous Athenian orators, just as the Roman elite had been doing since the mid-century, when the Attic model was still taught in Greece, as the case of Pammenes, a teacher of Brutus, confirms (Chapter 2).

The extraordinariness of this Roman intervention in Greek oratory can hardly be overstated. It fully bears out the proposition that 'the Romans must be seen as active players in their hellenization'.[110] In Roman hands, as we have seen, the opposition of 'Attic' and 'Asian', not just in oratorical styles but more broadly, played its part in articulating the debates of the first century BC about the moral propriety of Roman elite philhellenism. As part of its wider preoccupation with Roman moral regeneration, the Augustan regime, according to Dionysius, now recommended its ethical standards to elite Greeks. It is worth emphasising that, for Dionysius, it is the superiority of Augustan *morality* that helps to give legitimacy to Roman guidance of Greek culture:[111] not only (3.1) is the Augustan leadership 'thoroughly cultivated' (*eupaideutoi an*) but it also exercises power thanks to moral excellence (*dunasteuontes kat' aretēn*). It is possible, but not especially plausible, that Dionysius was a lone voice among Augustan Greeks in taking this view. It is likelier that he reflects a debate, largely lost to us, and that, among provincial Greeks constituting *to phronimon* of the *poleis*, there were those who justified their political support for Augustus in moral language, perhaps doing so in public speeches addressing their fellow citizens.

As reconstructed here, this cocktail of culture, power and coercion might seem, on the face of it, to instantiate the ideological theories of the social scientists Louis Althusser and Pierre Bourdieu. The ideology of the dominant power (Augustan Rome) is reproduced and inculcated through the

[107] Gabba 1991: 26 ('perhaps an allusion that even Athens was not exempt'). Antonian Athens: Habicht 1997a: 359–65. Aristocrates: Balzat and Millis forthcoming.
[108] Petron. *Sat.* 2.7.
[109] Wisse 1995: 76–7 proposes the emendation *to te phronimon <hekas> tēs poleōs*.
[110] Wallace-Hadrill 2008: 16. [111] So Hidber 1996: 80.

instruments of education (rhetoric). Its acceptance requires the internalisation by subjects of cultural norms which in fact are contingent or 'arbitrary' in the sense that they embody no universal truth ('Attic' is 'better' than 'Asian'). By accepting these 'cultural arbitraries' subjects (Greek notables) submit to 'violence' which is 'symbolic': submission signals the acceptance of Roman authority.[112] In fact, relating the claims of Dionysius to the real behaviour of Greek orators in the Augustan age is not easy. A case can certainly be made for imperial measures in Augustan Greece aimed at signalling Roman approval of the Attic style. Discussion of these measures (Chapter 2) first requires some examination of the general nature of imperial communication with subjects, as well as the scope of imperial agency specifically in Augustan Greece.

AUGUSTUS AND THE GREEK WORLD

A recent, comprehensive, study has argued that the Roman state was rationally committed to communicating acts of government to subjects by publicising its decisions through both oral and written media, as the mass of inscriptions and papyri which record these decisions attests. Further, this commitment has been seen as rhetorical as well as practical: that is, imperial communications in themselves functioned to support the claim of the Roman state to good governance.[113] This way of understanding Roman rule assumes that the imperial state sought consciously to create a climate of opinion. 'Propaganda', the overt attempt of the state to persuade characteristic of modern times, is nowadays seen as too crude a notion to explain the apparent role of the arts, including literature, in disseminating imperial Roman values. A study of the image of Louis XIV sums up what is nowadays a widespread way of viewing these issues with regard to classical antiquity too:

> The king and his advisers were well aware of the methods by which people can be manipulated by symbols. After all, most of them had been trained in the art of rhetoric. However, the aims in the service of which they manipulated others were of course chosen from the repertoire offered by the culture of the time. The aims as well as the methods are part of history . . . (Burke 1992: 13)

In relation to Augustus, more emphasis is now placed on the free will of the 'class of cultural brokers and image makers' who refracted the thinking of

[112] Phang 2008: 29–34 for discussion and summary of these ideas of Althusser and Bourdieu. The interpretation here is my own. Note Wallace-Hadrill 2008: 60: 'Greeks must be subjected, not merely militarily, but in everything.'

[113] Ando 2000: esp. ch. 4, 'Communicative actions of the Roman government'.

the regime, and on the 'concealed' quality of this kind of communication: 'concealed' because these broker figures may have shared in, and to varying degrees have internalised, the truth-claims inherent in the ideology.[114] In gauging the persuasiveness of the imperial state, the role of the emperor himself as disseminator of imperial ideology also needs emphasis. Contemporaries were struck by the force of the personal example of Augustus, represented by the poet Ovid as 'controlling morals by his example'.[115] Ovid here is echoing, knowingly no doubt, the claim of Augustus in the section of the *Res gestae* describing his censorial activity:

> By new laws passed on my proposal I brought back into use many exemplary practices which were disappearing in our time, and in many ways I myself transmitted exemplary practices to posterity for their imitation. (Augustus *Res gestae* 8.5 transl. Brunt and Moore)

The claim which Augustus is making here for imperial example is far-reaching: its imitation will reshape the conduct not only of present-day, but also of future, Romans. To judge from Ovid, it was well known at Rome that Augustus wanted others to follow him as a moral model. Portraiture shows that many Romans did indeed follow the example of the princeps:

> The portraiture of the period is distinctive. The way people, at all social levels from senators to freedmen shopkeepers, liked to have themselves depicted, typically on their tombs, but also for the more distinguished in honorary statues, became distinctly reminiscent of the Leader: the same sort of poses and expressions, pious and classically serene, are found again and again down to the same sort of haircuts . . . (Wallace-Hadrill 1993: 75)

Morality is a different matter from hairstyles, it might be objected. The failure of Augustus to impose his moral outlook even within his immediate family is notorious. Even so, the power of the imperial presence to communicate the concerns and values of government should probably not be underestimated. Even without the signalling of the emperor himself, the nature of imperial society of itself encouraged imitative behaviour among elite groups more or less dependent on imperial favour. The Romans themselves cynically came to recognise this tendency apropos the philosopher–emperor Marcus Aurelius: 'a great many people pretended to pursue philosophical enquiries in order to gain wealth through the emperor'.[116] The emergence in imperial Rome of a 'court society' had implications not just for the Roman political class based in the capital but also for leading provincial, including Greek, notables.

[114] Shumate 2006: 77; Galinsky 1996: 39–42. [115] Ov. *Met.* 15.833–4. [116] SHA *Marc.* 23.9.

The potentiality of Roman rule to influence the behaviour of non-Romans raises, once more, the idea of 'Romanisation'. This has been defined as 'the processes by which indigenous peoples incorporated into the empire acquired cultural attributes which made them appear as Romans'.[117] The usefulness of the concept of Romanisation is widely questioned nowadays, mainly by the archaeologists who invented it.[118] There is some force in the view that it has been used so loosely in modern work as to have no clear meaning: 'Un mot qui a trop de sens n'a aucun sens.'[119] Where this book applies the alternative term 'Romanity' to provincials, what is meant is a disposition on their part to imitate the culture of the Romans of Rome and Italy. That said, it must be admitted that the old connotations of 'Romanisation', that of a ruling power which imposes 'Roman culture' on non-Roman subjects, remain relevant for this book. The Greek east is often seen as largely exempt from official attempts to impose Roman culture. This view, however, has been challenged:

> Such a view must rest . . . on a rather constrained, albeit traditional view, of what constitutes Romanization, one that assumes that Romanization takes place among less civilized peoples: the process consists largely in providing the infrastructure – and therefore, it is presumed, also the impulse – for urbanization. (Ando 2000: 50)

This book describes what is, in effect, a Romanisation of Greece achieved, as proposed earlier, through a process of 're-hellenisation' for which the impulse came from the west. The mechanics took the form of an 'acculturative discourse',[120] by which is meant in this context a dialogue between Roman and Greek, taking place at elite level, mainly between high-ranking Romans of the governing class and Greek notables, but also (as we shall argue) involving Roman citizens from Italy resident in Greek lands as part of the milieu of the 'trafiquants italiens'. The view put forward here is that this discourse could also, at times, shade into active promotion of Roman values by the state and its representatives and that such central promotion, since it could target Greece, was not limited to provinces newly and violently incorporated into the Roman empire.[121] This argument, a pervasive theme of the book, receives some initial development here.

In their focus on the private lives of Roman citizens, the interventions of the Augustan state in matters of *mores* constituted the expression, albeit on an ampler scale, of a traditional role of the Roman republic in the form of

[117] *OCD*[3] s.v. Romanization 1. In the west (M. Millett). [118] E.g. Schörner 2005.
[119] Le Bohec 2008: 137. [120] The expression is taken from Wallace-Hadrill 2008: 79.
[121] *Pace* Le Bohec 2008: 134–5.

the powers of the office of censor, which Augustus seems to have exercised from as early as 27 BC.[122] The interference in Greek cultural practice claimed by Dionysius of Halicarnassus went a lot further, since it implies the extension of this concern of Augustan governance for *mores* to the provinces. One explanation of this, at first sight unexpected, development is that the Roman citizen body by this date included a large diaspora living in Greek lands, their numbers suggested by the figure of 150,000 alleged for the Italian victims of the 'Asian Vespers' in 88 BC.[123] In the first century BC, significant numbers of these Romans adopted a Hellenic way of life 'with such enthusiasm' that they took up local citizenship and occupied local magistracies.[124] These Romans included not only the type of the servile 'Paconius, more of a Mysian or Phrygian' stigmatised by Cicero,[125] but also higher-status Romans, among them knights and, in particular, senators and their sons, like the young Antony, undergoing a Greek education, especially at Athens (see Chapter 2). A passage in Cicero once more, this time attacking a real-life Roman, one C. Falcidius, a tax-farmer resident in Asian Tralles, shows that even (or perhaps especially) when a high-status Roman citizen resided overseas he exposed his moral reputation to censure back home: Cicero, seeking to blacken the name of this hostile witness, faults him because, instead of spending his patrimony at Rome, he was dissipating it on 'parties for Greeks' overseas.[126] As we shall see, the Romans residents in Greece turn out to have played a positive role in orchestrating local responses to Augustan ideological themes. There is every reason to think that such people fell under the moralising gaze of the Augustan regime when its leadership toured the cities of the east, as Augustus did in 31/30 BC after Actium, returning for a second time in 21 BC and a third in 19 BC, and as Agrippa did twice, in 23/2 and 16–13 BC, as substitute for Augustus himself.[127]

[122] *Mon. Anc.* 6.1 with Brunt and Moore 1967: 45–7. See Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 13.2–3 for the Roman scrutiny of private lives, which Dionysius contrasts with ancient Athens and Sparta, where the citizen was left to his own devices in private.

[123] Plut. *Sull.* 24.4. Val. Max. 9.2 ext. 3 (80,000). Kirbihler 2007: 22 suggests a figure of 100,000–150,000 for the total Italian population in Asia Minor and the East Greek islands on the eve of the massacres, including women, children and freedmen.

[124] Errington 1988.

[125] Cic. *Ad Q. fr.* 1.1.19. Cicero seems to be imputing ex-slave status to this generic bearer of a *nomen* well documented among the eastern *negotiatores*: Spawforth 1996: 180 no. 21.

[126] Cic. *Flac.* 90–92 (*patrimonium satis lautum, quod hic nobiscum conficere potuit, Graecorum conviviis maluit dissipare*); Petrochilos 1974: 46; 86 n. 3. Wiseman 1971: 198 (suggesting kinship with the homonymous senator of Wiseman 1971: 230 no. 170). For Roman moralising about the life of pleasure see Edwards 1993: ch. 5. Given the rare name, this Falcidius was probably linked with C. Falcidius, a junior senator in the eighties or sixties BC: Broughton 1986: 89.

[127] Agrippa: Halfmann 1986: 26.

In general these tours are rightly interpreted as signs of the close interest of the Augustan regime in the Greek-speaking provinces.[128] A cardinal aim was to cultivate the local elites: to win them over to the regime was to reduce the likelihood of a political challenge to Augustus from the provinces, and the personal presence of the princeps or his substitute allowed for far more intensive contact than was possible during, say, an audience in Rome with an emissary from a provincial city.[129] There was also a larger concern for the 'ordering' of provincial affairs, which the Messenians (for one) recognised when they praised the 'care' (*phrontis*) bestowed by Augustus on their city.[130] It appears that the regime specifically included the moral sphere in this exercise of 'care', as in Gaul in 27 BC, where Augustus is said to have 'regulated the way of life and the government' (*ton bion tēn te politeian diekosmēse*) of the inhabitants.[131] This undertaking presupposes that Augustus 'knew best': that is, in practice, that he was guided by his perception of what constituted core values. As regards Greece, the fragmentary evidence allows the reconstruction of, at best, a partial picture of Augustan activity there. As it is, concern for 'the way of life and the government' of the cities well describes the initiatives which the chapters that follow ascribe to these Augustan visits: fostering the cultural traditions of 'the true Greece', and identifying and supporting the conservative, pro-Roman, elements among the city elites. It is at least possible, and even likely, that Augustus and Agrippa explained the aims of their interventions to local Greek notables in the same sort of ethical language which Dionysius of Halicarnassus uses to describe their guidance of Greek oratory, and that – to repeat an earlier point – there were Greeks who were persuaded of the legitimacy of this kind of Roman intervention in Greek affairs.

This picture presupposes a rather more dynamic and proactive style of imperial governance than the surviving evidence for the modus operandi of imperial rule might seem to suggest. War has always been seen as one obvious exception to a reactive model of imperial rule. Not only that, but a recent study has argued that 'questions of value and image and identity', and 'the realm of the moral and psychological', drove the foreign policy of the emperors just as much as, and perhaps more than, factors which look 'more rational to a modern audience'. Going to war was, above all, a matter

[128] E.g. Rizakis 2009: 29 n. 79, with earlier refs. In 21–19 BC, however, visits to Greece were fitted around the principal objective of Augustus, namely, the eastern front and the recovery of the standards captured from Crassus by the Parthians: Rich 1998: 72.

[129] Halfmann 1986: 21. [130] *SEG* 23.207, cited by Halfmann 1986: 17–18 n. 18.

[131] Cass. Dio 53.22.5. See Halfmann 1986: 17, 21–5, rightly noting (21) the significance of Cass. Dio 52.42.6 (Octavian's ban in 28 BC on senators leaving Italy without his express permission).

of Roman honour, glory, and revenge.[132] It has recently been argued that Roman values also shaped the Roman approach to ruling Greeks. Vergil's famous conception of Roman imperialism does indeed seem to authorise this interpretation of the aims of imperial rule:

> . . . remember Roman, these are your skills: to rule over people, to impose morality (*morem*), to spare your subjects and to conquer the proud. (Vergil *Aeneid* 851–853)

Some Roman emperors clearly did formulate civilian initiatives in the provinces, while travelling or not, as the documentation for the emperor Hadrian shows clearly.[133] More generally, the Romans themselves recognised the intrusive nature of imperial power, as Emma Dench has shown.[134] In recent years the idea that 'Augustus', that is, the imperial regime, actively intervened to direct cultural change in the provinces has gained ground among scholars from a range of approaches:

> I have already said enough about the Augustan period to underline [. . .] that in every province of the empire a cultural change took place simultaneously [. . .] Although the change cannot be precisely identified as an imperial initiative, the evidence of its consistency and coincidence points to some kind of state intervention. (Whittaker 1997: 157)

> The latter-day Athenians, economically devastated and, in Augustus's eyes, morally wanting, were to be reminded of the great days of their own culture. (Zanker 1988: 261)

> While the *domina Romana* (Hor. *Carm*. 4.14.44) as capital of the Roman empire represented the actual centre of political power, Athens as previously passed for the spiritual and cultural centre of the Greek world . . . Although the Greek world was required to accept Roman dominion, Rome too, on the other hand, felt indebted to the exemplary culture of 'classical' Greece and at the least shared in it: *Graecia capta ferum victorem cepit et artes intulit agresti Latio*. At the same time Athens needed help in finding the right direction again: the pernicious Asianism whose vulgar brilliance reached its acme in the time of Antony and according to Dionysius of Halicarnassus degraded even cultured Athens and turned it into a bordello, had to be programmatically replaced with 'classical' Atticism. (Schäfer 1998: 103–4)

These two German scholars exactly capture, I believe, the moralising tone of Augustan activity, not just in Athens, but in Greece more widely – even if the well-known Horatian tag needs, more often than scholars do, to be set beside the Ovidian passage *Nondum tradiderat victas victoribus artes Graecia*: 'Greece has not yet surrendered its conquered arts to the conquerors',

[132] Mattern 1999: esp. 22, 80. [133] Buraselis 2006. [134] Dench 2005: 90–1.

lines in which 'the Roman boasts to have robbed the Greek of his culture by conquest'.[135] These German views chime with the argument of Greg Woolf: the moral decadence which Romans attributed to contemporary Greeks, combined with their admiration for the civilisation (*humanitas*) of the ancient Greeks, resulted in an imperial approach to ruling Greeks that was broadly 'corrective', that is, it was inspired by a desire to 'safeguard the good that remained of Greek civilisation, by saving imperial Greeks from their characteristic vices'.[136] This idea of a 'preachy' approach to Roman imperial governance over Greeks is less improbable than it may at first seem. In its favour is the high-minded title of the senior senators sent out intermittently by emperors from Trajan onwards on special missions to Greek provinces and to free cities, including Athens and Sparta. They were styled 'correctors' (*corrector*; Greek *diorthōtēs*, *epanorthōtēs*). The role of a doctor treating respectfully the illness of a free man is the metaphor used by the younger Pliny when advising a senatorial friend about to leave on one of these missions. Their role, that is, seems to have been conceived as the 'correcting' (*ad corrigendam*) of 'ailing' Greek communities.[137]

Augustus is sometimes credited in modern scholarship with an active policy of seeking to bring Romans and Greeks closer together. This view is based partly on the works of, once more, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, in particular his *Roman Antiquities*, a large-scale Roman history, in twenty books, which he began to publish early in the last decade BC. Dionysius wrote the work at Rome, where he had relocated shortly after Actium, and his work is fervently pro-Roman. Rome is superior to all other peoples (1.31.3); the virtues of the early Romans were unparalleled in any other city (1.5.3); in a familiar Augustan theme, Italy's geographical excellence is eulogised (1.36–37); Roman superiority to the Greeks is asserted in areas as diverse as her army (citizen farmers improve on Spartan professionals: 2.28.2) and oratory (the Roman funerary *laudatio* outclasses the Athenian *epitaphios*: 5.17); Roman religion is better than Greek (ecstatic foreign cults have never been officially admitted to the Roman pantheon: 2.19); the Twelve Tables outdo any Greek *nomothesia* (11.44.6); and the Romans have even preserved customs abandoned by the Greeks themselves (such as loincloths for athletes at the Ludi Magni: 7.72.2).

This last idea, that the Romans 'do' Greek culture better than the Greeks themselves, is a competitive claim found elsewhere in Augustan culture, notably Ovid.[138] For Dionysius, a Greek not a Roman, the idea is

[135] Ov. *Fasti* 3.101–102 cited (with his emphasis) by Wallace-Hadrill 2008: 24.
[136] Woolf 1994: esp. 118–25; Woolf 1998: 57.
[137] For these officials see Groag 1939: cols. 125–36, 162–6. Plin. *Ep*. 8.24.5.
[138] Gildenhard and Zissos 2004.

contingent on the central thesis of his history, expounded, he claims, to correct Greek ignorance. According to this remarkable vision, the city of Rome was a Greek settlement founded from the Peloponnese, the Trojan Aeneas being a latecomer. Not only were the early Romans of Greek origin, but their superiority in virtuousness to other Greeks of their time justified the present-day Roman dominion over the Greeks.[139] Dionysius, a Greek intellectual in Augustan Rome, no doubt believed that he was working with the grain of Augustan ideas in developing this historical picture, which betrays its Augustan intellectual environment in its relocation of Roman origins from Asia to Europe. Despite which, there is no evidence to link him directly with the Augustan leadership, his exact motives in composing the *Roman Antiquities* remain obscure, and (therefore) to see the text as a vehicle for 'Augustan propaganda' is perhaps too crude and simplistic.[140] Even so, in broad terms Dionysius can be seen as a Greek member of the 'class of cultural brokers and image makers' of Augustan Rome, making sense in his own way of the profound transformations of the Greco-Roman world wrought by Actium.[141] The rest is speculation. As he primarily addressed a Greek audience, it is worth suggesting that he sought to provide cultural ammunition for Rome's friends in eastern cities (*to phronimon*), the sort of local politicians who might well, through oratory, have sought to allay anti-Roman feeling among their fellow citizens. His stress on a wide-ranging superiority of Rome over Greece, however, hardly proclaimed an imperial project of integration of equals: by implication, any further convergence between Roman and Greek interests was to be strictly on Roman terms.

AUGUSTUS AND NICOPOLIS

The argument in favour of an ideal of 'convergence', and for what this entailed in practice, is also founded on Augustan urbanism in Greece itself.[142] The showcase here was the city of Nicopolis in Acarnania in north-west Greece which Augustus founded after Actium on the site of his land-camp. Any modern visitor with enough time and stamina for a reasonably thorough examination of the ruins can hardly avoid being

[139] Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.5.2, 1.90.1; see Hidber 1996: 75–81.

[140] Hidber 1996: 78–9 discusses modern views, including his own, that Dionysius wrote from personal gratitude, and those of Martin 1971 ('l'un des chantres de la propagande augustéenne').

[141] Shumate 2006: 76–7.

[142] See Rizakis 2009: 28–9, an ample vision partly based on a propagandistic interpretation of Dionysius of Halicarnassus.

struck by the sheer scale of imperial investment in this vast site. What is striking too about Nicopolis is that Octavian's choice of vehicle for the perpetual commemoration of a victory which laid the foundations of his principate should be beyond the view of Rome and of Italy. Nor was the new foundation an achievement which Augustus chose to record in his *Res gestae*. With Nicopolis Augustus evidently considered himself to be addressing primarily a provincial audience.[143] To attract this audience, Augustus endowed his new city with a port on the Adriatic coast so as to access the ancient shipping lanes between Italy and the Balkans. He also moved promptly to relocate the celebration of local Greek games to a lavishly equipped 'Olympic park' in a suburb of Nicopolis, upgrading them to the rank of the old Olympia of Elis in order to attract the best athletes and the biggest audiences. Finally, in close proximity to the facilities for these Actian games, he commissioned a battle memorial decorated with some thirty bronze rams (*rostra*) from Antony's captured fleet and conceived as a sanctuary of his tutelary god Apollo, who received an altar. This monument, Roman in conception and function and evoking the victory monuments of republican Rome, can be closely dated by its inscribed dedication – in Latin, the language of Roman power – to around 29 BC: its speedy completion must have been a priority.[144]

It is well known that the foundation of Nicopolis belongs to a Greek, and specifically royal, tradition of marking military victories by the foundation of a Greek-style *polis*. Alexander the Great was the most prestigious precedent for this type of urbanistic activity, followed by other Macedonian and Hellenistic kings.[145] Augustus had already been anticipated by his own countryman, Pompey the Great, in Paphlagonia (Pompeiopolis). It is hard to dispute the propositions that Augustan Nicopolis sought to emulate and (why not?) outdo Roman and Hellenistic precursors elsewhere in the east, that its expression of overwhelming power through the commanding of huge resources was an end in itself, and that, through its glorification of the founder, it sought to provoke applause from provincials for the man who was now the ruler of Rome and, in the eyes of many Greeks, their *basileus*.

The new city also enunciated a synthesis of Roman and Greek traditions in a way so obvious that it must have been hard to miss. On the

[143] Ando 2000: xii: Augustus 'defined his power and his position differently before different constituencies'.

[144] Schäfer 1993: 247 suggests September 27 BC for the first celebration of the renewed Actian games and perhaps too for the official foundation date of Nicopolis. Romanity of the monument: Schörner 2003: 116–17.

[145] Gurval 1995: 70–4.

one hand, the Augustan creation of a magnificently endowed, Greek-style, *polis*, with Greek civic institutions and cults, signalled the thoroughly supportive attitude of the new regime in Rome to the traditional Greek way of life, founded as it always had been on the political and religious community of the *poleis*. On the other hand, Nicholas Purcell has rightly stressed the Roman character of Nicopolis, most evident in its incorporation of a Roman colony of (probably) legionary veterans and in the centuriation of its territory, an ancient Italian practice presupposing the introduction of Roman surveying techniques and units of measurement to this part of Greece.[146] The city advertised another kind of Greek and Roman convergence as well, since we now know that the battle-memorial was decorated with sculpture in the distinctive classicising style of Augustan public art encountered above. A relief from Nicopolis depicting Octavian's Actian triumph of 29 BC very obviously quotes the style of the Parthenon frieze, just as the Ara Pacis in Rome would do seventeen or so years later.[147] Modern work on Augustan classicism suggests that this Roman appeal to the sculptural style associated with Phidias, for all that the marble and no doubt the sculptors came from Athens, would have mainly served to endow the subject-matter with a suitable dignity, even majesty. It was equally open to the Greek (and modern) viewer to read here a flattering Roman acknowledgement of Attic pre-eminence in the visual arts.

There is evidence for a range of Greek reactions to Nicopolis. Two centuries later, the Lydian–Greek travel writer Pausanias was keen to stress the dislocation to the established pattern of settlement in this part of Greece, the reluctance of some Greeks from the surrounding region to be relocated and the displacement of traditional cults transferred to the new site.[148] The contemporary reception of Nicopolis suggests Greek viewpoints that were more positive. The Augustan poet Philip of Thessalonice saw in Nicopolis a symbol of Augustus' gifts of peace and good government:

Bronze-jaw beaks, ships' voyage-loving armour, we lie here as witnesses to the war at Actium. Behold, the bees' wax-fed gifts are hived in us, weighted all around with a humming swarm. So good is the grace of Caesar's law and order; he has

[146] Purcell 1987 remains the best discussion of the problem of the dual status of Nicopolis. Centuriation as a cultural phenomenon: MacMullen 2000: 18–19. On Nicopolis generally see now Zachos 2007; 2009.

[147] Zachos 2009: 300–2.

[148] Paus. 5.23.3; 7.18.8; 8.24.11; 10.38.4. See Alcock 1989: esp. 132–45. Generally, apparent Pausanian criticisms of Rome need more careful handling than they sometimes receive. On the particularly problematic Paus. 8.27.1, see Hutton 2008.

taught the enemy's arms to bear the fruits of peace instead. (*Anthologia Palatina* 6.236)[149]

Philip's use of a metaphor from nature is all the more striking because we now know that the sculptural decoration of the memorial included the same vegetal decoration which symbolises in other monuments of Augustan art, notably the Ara Pacis, the blessed fertility of the Augustan Golden Age: a hint that contemporary Greeks could indeed 'read' Augustan iconography?[150] The Augustan writer Strabo, an enthusiast for Roman rule who seems to describe Nicopolis from autopsy, presents an altogether flourishing picture of the new foundation in its early years: 'its numbers are increasing daily'.[151] The social stratum about which we know most is the local elite, which presumably included landowning families of the surrounding districts who had been brought up amid the legacy of the Roman devastation of Epirus in the second century BC. To these people, the new foundation, with its imperial imprimatur and lavish facilities, surely seemed like an opportunity. Early signs of this stratum include Dicaea, a citizeness honoured with a statue as 'the first woman after the foundation of the *polis* to serve as priestess of the Goddess in the Celcaeum'. Significant too are the grants of Roman citizenship in the Julio-Claudian period to the Greek founders of Nicopolitan families of P. Memmii and Ti. Claudii. These grants suggest not only that there were leading Nicopolitans in the early principate who sought to become Roman in the legal sense, but also that such individuals satisfied the criteria for these grants (on which see below).[152]

Later chapters will suggest how Nicopolis served in a variety of other ways as a showcase for Augustan ideology and urbanistics. The last part of this introduction turns finally to the Greek provincial elites and to their characterisation in more depth.

GREEK PROVINCIAL ELITES

Since this book argues that elements within the Greek-elite stratum were responsive to the cultural agenda of the Augustan regime, attention is

[149] AP 6.236 = Gow and Page 1968: I, 298–9 n. ii; II, 331. See Bowersock 2005: 4–5.
[150] Zachos 2009: 284. [151] Strab. 7.6 (325).
[152] See Sarikakis 1970: no. 32, Dicaea daughter of Demaretus; no. 57, Theocles *philokaisar* (reign of Tiberius), son of Eudamus, father of P. Memmius Theocles (no. 106) and grandfather of P. Memmius ?Critolaus Theocles, a Roman knight (no. 107: see Spawforth 1996: 180 no. 17); nos. 75–7, the (?unrelated) Ti. Claudii Hipparchus, Celsus and Cleomachus, all prominent in the Amphictyony and/or Delphi, all active under Nero and/or the Flavians.

now given to the evolution of the relations of this type of Greek with Roman power in the first centuries BC and AD. The expressions 'local elites', 'local notables' and 'local grandees' are widely, if loosely, used by historians to describe the restrained numbers of prominent citizens within the body politic of the *poleis* who increasingly assumed the direction of civic affairs in the second and first centuries BC. In Weberian socio-economic parlance, these individuals belonged among the '*Honoratiores*', the Greek upper class as characterised by its rentier status – living off income from property or investment.[153] From the later second century BC their civic services included diplomacy with Rome on their community's behalf. This role, which increasingly looks like political brokering, became much more marked after the First Mithradatic War, especially in Asia Minor, where prominent individuals were the subject of honorific inscriptions explicitly weaving their biographies into the history of the city. Sometimes they received divine cult.[154] These were the *andres endoxoi*, the 'men of high reputation', from the social and intellectual elite of their native cities, many of whom Strabo lists in his *Geography* with the purpose, it has been argued, of recommending the flourishing cities of Asia to Rome by referencing the distinction of their leading, and ardently pro-Roman, sons.[155] Cicero makes clear that in the late republic aristocratic Romans preferred to rely on Greeks of this type in their dealings with the *poleis*. By the time of Augustus these Greek grandees as a group belonged to well-established and quasi-hereditary networks of personal ties with leading Romans.[156] Alongside, and intertwined with, this development, Rome is associated with the formal promotion of oligarchy in the constitutions of Greek *poleis*, a development which can be traced as early as 146/5 BC.[157]

The social, political and economic realities underlying the local dominance of these grandees are not well attested. But on rare occasions it was challenged locally. Thanks to recent finds, we know something about the political situation in Lycia in south-west Asia Minor in AD 42. A serious episode of *stasis* in the region saw the unlawful killing of Roman citizens and culminated in Roman intervention, taking the form of the incorporation of the previously autonomous Lycian League into a Roman province. A remarkable inscription from Patara, the Lycian capital, gratefully describes the upshot of this intervention as 'freedom from faction (*stasis*), lawlessness

[153] Quass 1993: 11. [154] Santangelo 2009b: 68–78. Price 1984: 47–51. [155] Engels 2005.
[156] Bowersock 1965: ch. 1 is the classic discussion.
[157] Sainte-Croix 1981: 525, citing Paus. 8.30.9, a cardinal passage. Bernhardt 1998: 60 for the lack of scholarly consensus on the extent of Roman reshaping of Greek constitutions.

and brigandage' and 'the entrusting of the polity away from the promiscuous crowd (*apo tou akritou plēthous*) to councillors drawn from the best people (*ex aristōn*)'.[158] As Michael Wörrle has pointed out, behind the partisan rhetoric of this text can be discerned a momentous political change, namely, the transfer of control of the Lycian polity from a sovereign assembly into the hands of an oligarchic council made up of local notables – whose selection as councillors in the first instance was in fact the work of Q. Veranius, the first Roman governor, as another Lycian inscription shows.[159] The language of the winning side and the political changes overseen by Rome make fairly clear that a popular movement had briefly challenged the political dominance of the Lycian League by the pro-Roman notables, whose grip on the League's affairs was subsequently tightened by a constitutional innovation sponsored by Rome. The precise nature of the internal tensions which sparked this regional tumult is unknown. But, perhaps suggestively, Veranius also felt obliged to intervene by decree to prevent illicit interference with the Lycian public records.[160] Here Roman intervention fell into the 'corrective' category, given that both the Greek and the Roman upper classes saw wealth and poverty in moral terms.[161] Its aim was to ensure that the 'best' people, that is, the rich pro-Roman elite, remained in charge of Lycian affairs, the conduct of which was now to exclude, formally and permanently, the Lycian masses.

The Patara inscription would have given satisfaction to Geoffrey de Sainte-Croix, since it does nothing to undermine the force of his broad picture of a Roman imperial state which 'would naturally favour the powerful and the propertied . . . and help to suppress revolutions'.[162] The notables themselves who form the focus of this book seem never to have protested – unsurprisingly – at the local arrangement of political and economic power entrenched and protected by their collusive relationship with the imperial state. On the contrary, 'it is clear that the Greek propertied classes did not merely acquiesce in the [suppression of Greek democracy]: they assisted in it – and no wonder, because they themselves, after the Romans, were the chief beneficiaries of the system'.[163] Under the principate this collusion prompted the introduction of 'a controlled (mis)reading of the classical

[158] Cass. Dio 55.17.3–4; Suet. *Claud.* 25.3. For the text of the Claudian inscription from Patara found in 1992 see Jones 2001a, with the correction of the sense of the preposition *apo* (line 28) by Marksteiner and Wörrle 2002: 564–5. The problem was independently seen too by Thornton 2001 and Kokkinia 2005: 46–7 with n. 27, whose translation of *akritos* I follow.

[159] Marksteiner and Wörrle 2002, correcting *SEG* l. 1350.

[160] *AÉ* 1976 no. 674, noted by Thornton 2001: 406.

[161] Sainte-Croix 1981: 425–6.

[162] Sainte-Croix 1981: 519. His ch. 5 (iii) and App. IV.

[163] Sainte-Croix 1981: 309.

past' into Greek education itself, in order to detach the classical (Athenian) canon from its democratic political context:

> In the end, oratory, the deliberative and forensic vehicle of Athenian democracy, is transformed into a matter of good taste and courtesy; and the field of cultural knowledge gained from the writings of classical Greeks is shifted away from politics to the social conventions of imperial oligarchy. (Connolly 2001: 356)

The crucial symbiosis between local and imperial systems of political dominance needs to be kept constantly in mind when assessing the mechanics, and degree, of acculturation as between 'Roman' overlords and 'Greek' subjects. 'Greek culture' as a field operated by the stratum of eastern notables was enabled by imperial power at the most fundamental level.

Debatable, although crucial for the argument of this book, is how far, and when, these notables began to assimilate the social and cultural values of their Roman counterparts, the political classes of Rome. One of the arguments of this book is that public declamation on fictional themes, a favoured pastime of the Roman governing elites in the early principate and a novelty when it first appears at Rome in the late first century BC, was also taken up by the Greek socio-political elite.The later trajectory of this cultural activity in the Greek-speaking world would be documented by Philostratus as the 'second sophistic'. But this is something of a misnomer insofar as it veils what appear to be the essentially Roman *social* origins of the practice of public declamation among high-status elements in imperial society. Joy Connolly seems closer to the truth in writing of a 'Greco-Gallo-Hispano-Africo-Roman culture united, in its upper echelons, by the common experience of rhetorical training'.[164] The success of public declamation among the Greek-speaking elite must be understood in social as well as cultural terms: it was not just the activity itself, but the fact that Romans of the highest rank took it up, which made public declamation an attractive proposition for eastern grandees wishing to stress their Romanity.

There are other indicators that the Roman elite came to provide a social model for prominent eastern provincials. The new tendency in late Hellenistic Athens for notables to combine political office with tenure of major priesthoods has been seen as a mark of Roman influence (Chapter 4). Like Roman senators, the Greek notables never came to constitute aristocracies as such in the sense of the closed social groups found in later European history. Under the principate, in the eyes of their fellow citizens what earned these eminent individuals their local prestige continued above all to be

[164] Connolly 2007: 160.

their benefaction to the city.[165] That said, 'aristocratising' tendencies are observable at this social level from the later second and first centuries BC on. One manifestation was the way in which grandees started to associate their offspring with their civic role, as if to mark out the family as one destined for hereditary leadership.[166] Another sign of the social influence of the Roman governing class was an increasing emphasis on distinguished ancestors, on which Nino Luraghi has commented with particular reference to Greece proper:

> One [. . .] wonders whether the fact that leading families of Greece started to care about their distant ancestors, a trait that is rather foreign to traditional Greek political mentality but typical of the mentality of the Roman ruling elite, might not be seen as one result of the Romanization of Greece: after all most of them staking such ancestral claims were Roman citizens pursuing equestrian and senatorial careers. (Luraghi 2008a: 201)[167]

This observation merits a little more development. As is well known, the Augustan regime in particular placed great emphasis on the divine ancestry of the princeps, a descendant of Venus, and in general, as part of the wider Roman discourse about *maiores*, ancestors, on the great Romans of old and their descendants, to whom the princeps extended his special protection.[168] Augustus signalled that his respect for historic lineages extended to the leading Greeks of his day, as an anecdote preserved by Plutarch shows. When the Spartan Eurycles was brought before Augustus for trial, one of his accusers was a fellow Spartan who claimed to descend from Brasidas, the famous Spartan general. The outspokenness of this man prompted Augustus to imprison him, but his ancestry, once the princeps learnt of it, earned him his release.[169] Again under Augustus, the mythical pedigree of the orator Potamo as 'descendant of Penthilus, king of the Aeolians' was inscribed on an honorific monument set up in his native Mytilene.[170] This is one of the first instances in a Greek civic context of the *public* assertion of illustrious descent from named forebears. Potamo knew Rome well as a Mytilenean diplomat and orator and as the author of encomia of Caesar and Brutus. The Roman milieu is again present in the most

[165] Bartels 2008: 14–94.
[166] Hamon 2007: esp. 94–8. For examples from Augustan Sparta see ch. 2. The erection of statues of children of elite families also links into these tendencies: for Athenian patterns see Geagan 1994.
[167] For the Roman practice: Wiseman 1971; Flower 1996; Hekster 2006.
[168] Zanker 1988: 210–15; Syme 1939: 376–7. Wallace-Hadrill 2008: ch. 5 ('Knowing the ancestors') for a nuanced reading of the Roman obsession with *maiores*.
[169] Plut. *Reg. et Imp. Apopheg.* 207f with the discussion of Bowersock 1965: 105 with n. 4.
[170] *IG* xii, suppl. no. 7, lines 2–3 with Strab. 13. 582. *PIR*² P 914.

impressive of these Greek declarations of noble ancestors from the early principate, the pair of consolatory decrees from the thirties or forties AD for T. Statilius Lamprias of Epidaurus. The deceased is lauded as a descendant of Heracles, Lysander (another Spartan *vir militaris*) and three mythical heroes of the Argolid, Perseus, Inachus and Phoroneus. The Romanity of his Epidaurian family is revealed by its Roman citizenship, acquired by the father of Lamprias thanks to a patron among the Statilii Tauri. In the hands of the deceased's eulogists, this became another mark of his distinction: he had been 'honoured with the citizenship of the Romans, splendid and renowned among all mankind'.[171]

At some point Greek grandees, at first only in tiny numbers, had begun to look towards Rome for honours and even political careers. In a long historical perspective, this extension of political horizons among upper-class Greeks beyond the world of the *polis* was far from unprecedented. Some Greeks from centuries-earlier incarnations of the socio-economic *Honoratiorenschicht* had turned to royal employment once powerful monarchies erupted onto the Greek political scene in the mid fourth century BC. Teles of Megara, *c.* 240 BC, notes the roles filled by such people:[172]

> . . . today we see them set over foreign nations as governors, kings entrust their fortresses to them, in the throne council it is nothing less than their duty to speak their mind freely to the king; they command an entire kingdom's fleet and control the use of great sums of money as they see fit.

Far too little is known about these 'companions' or 'friends' of the Argead and Hellenistic kings to generalise about their motives in entering royal service. There is certainly no firm basis for the view that their availability for royal employment was a function of the prevalence of *stasis* in the *poleis*.[173] In this regard, Greek attitudes to the Roman citizenship are instructive. By the time of Augustus, not only had Greek employment by royal courts ceased to be an option with the disappearance of the last great Hellenistic monarchy, but the Roman tradition of extending the Roman citizenship to non-Romans was one of the points of Roman superiority over the ancient Greeks which Dionysius of Halicarnassus could emphasise to his Greek readers.[174] In 90 BC a Cretan had mocked a Roman offer of the *civitas*.[175] Surveying the initial spread of Roman citizenship among Greeks, Jean-Louis Ferrary sees the age of the triumvirs and Augustus as the turning

[171] *IG* iv², 84 and 86 (= Peek 1969: 29–31 no. 36), noting in particular 84, lines 30 and 31–34; 86, lines 8–9. Spawforth 1985: esp. 251–3.
[172] Teles, *Peri phugēs* (ed. Hense² 23), cited by Habicht 2006: 33.
[173] Savalli-Lestrade 1998: 215.
[174] Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 2.16.1–2.
[175] Diod. Sic. 37.18.

point. Previously Greek notables based in their own cities had been content with other honours marking their 'role as the privileged intermediaries between Greek cities and Roman power', such as the formal grant of Roman friendship (*amicitia*). He rightly stresses the long-term significance of the resolution by Caesar and Augustus of the legal obstacles, Roman and local, to the combining of Roman with *polis* citizenship.[176]

There remains a persistent assumption among historians that Greek notables were somehow reluctant to ask for Roman citizenship, or, once they had acquired it, to seek Roman honours.[177] The arguments cannot be set out in detail here. But more stress is needed on the historical significance of the earliest waves of Greek notables acquiring Roman citizenship. In the age of Caesar there are egregious examples of Greek notables who not only acquired Roman citizenship but also pursued careers beyond the *polis* in Rome. The most celebrated was another Mytilenean, Cn. Pompeius Theophanes, Pompey's historian, who also served (a point worth emphasising) in a military capacity as his patron's *praefectus fabrum*, or chief of engineers. There are also Lysiades and Cydas, respectively an Athenian and a Cretan (from Gortyn?), who were sitting on a panel of Roman citizen jurors in Rome in 43 BC. Both ought to have been Roman citizens, enfranchised by either Caesar or Antony, and Cicero clearly implies that they were by referencing (witheringly) their wearing of the toga.[178]

As the instance of Lysiades shows, Ferrary's picture of the late first century BC as a period of changing Greek attitudes to the Roman citizenship is borne out by evidence for 'old' Greece. This region offers a case study, one of particular relevance to the exploration, in the chapters which follow, of the cultural dialogue which this book posits between the Augustan regime and the men of influence in the cities in Greece. On a conservative estimate, the beginning of the principate yields (counting Lysiades) some ten provincial grandees in Achaia who were also Roman citizens as a result of grants from Caesar, Antony, Augustus or members of his family, or from highly placed broker figures:

- *Athens*: Lysiades; Antipater of Phlya[179]
- *Sparta*: C. Iulius Eurycles; his younger kinsman C. Iulius Deximachus[180]

[176] Ferrary 2001.

[177] E.g., on the *civitas*, Ferrary 2005: 75. Syme 1988a: 562, suggested that '[m]any of the eastern notables were reluctant to exchange personal and local primacy for a seat in the Senate'. To my knowledge there is no direct evidence showing that any eastern notable behaved in this way, although, as noted below, there *is* ancient evidence in the other direction.

[178] Lysiades: Cic. *Phil.* 5. 13–14. Ramsey 2005: 27–8.

[179] Antipater: Byrne 2003a: Vipsanius nos. 4 and 12.

[180] *RP* 2 LAC 461 and 456; see below, chs. 2–3.

- *Argos*: M. Antonius Aristocrates[181]
- *Elis*: M. Antonius Pisanus; Ti. Claudius Apollonius[182]
- *Mantinea*: the hypothetical common ancestor of Iulia Eudia and her husband C. Iulius Strobilus[183]
- *Epidaurus*: Cn. Cornelius Nicatas[184]
- *Corinth*: P. Caninius Agrippa[185]

This list certainly under-reports the phenomenon, either because local inscriptions did not at this early date always acknowledge the Roman names of a Greek, or because (sometimes for this very reason) the earliest record of an older grant of citizenship is its appearance in a later, perhaps much later, generation of the family of the grantee.[186] In the cases cited above the Roman names mainly reflect those of the ultimate source of the grant (Antony, Augustus): the side from which the initiative came therefore remains opaque. In the case of Cn. Cornelius Nicatas, it is thinkable that he himself took the initiative, since it must have been his sense of obligation to the unknown senatorial Cornelius who interceded with Augustus on his behalf that caused him to choose the Roman names of the broker over those of the princeps.[187] Another such intercession by a powerful intermediary, in this case his own stepson, Tiberius, prompted Augustus to insist on interviewing personally a Greek candidate for the *civitas*, so as to convince himself that there were 'reasonable grounds for the request' (*iustas petendi causas*).[188]

If large numbers of C. Iulii are hard to locate in Augustan Greece, this may reflect local reluctance, or a Roman perception of infidelity (as in the case of Athens: see Chapter 6). But the root cause is surely that Augustus presented himself as extremely sparing in making these grants. Ferrary rightly points out that the spread of citizenship among Greeks was not just a question of the attitude of individual emperors, but also of how Greek notables themselves felt. The story of Suetonius cited above is interesting not least because it suggests that under Augustus Greeks themselves, via Roman patrons, were petitioning for the *civitas*. A third factor, again borne out by this story, was whether even Greeks who sought

[181] Balzat and Millis forthcoming. [182] *RP* I EL 41 and 138.
[183] *RP* I ARC 91 and 110; see ch. 5 below. [184] *RP* I ARG 114. [185] *RP* I COR 135.
[186] On the former point: Byrne 2003a: xiii. E.g. the Athenian P. Ventidii, first attested in the early first century AD, but presumably deriving their citizenship from the Antonian P. Ventidius, *cos. suff.* 43 BC: Byrne 2003a: 473–4 nos. 5, 8, 16. These questions are explored in depth by Balzat 2011.
[187] The same point would hold for other new Greek *cives* who took the names of the broker-figure: for the phenomenon at Sparta, reflected in names such as 'L. Volusenus', 'T. Trebellenus', 'P. Memmius', see Cartledge and Spawforth 2002: 160–1.
[188] Suet. *Aug.* 40. Whether the interview ever actually took place is unknown.

the *civitas* always met the criteria. These were tightened up by Augustus in historical circumstances clarified by Wallace-Hadrill:

> Hence the paradox that Augustus both massively increased the citizenship, and yet put effort into maintaining its symbolic integrity. If citizenship was to be worth having, it should not be seen as too easy to come by. (Wallace-Hadrill 2008: 451–3)

Given his programme to restore Roman morals, it follows that protecting the 'symbolic integrity' of the *civitas* involved assessments of candidates' personal worth, and specifically moral fitness as judged from an Augustan standpoint. Under Augustus, and perhaps for much of the Julio-Claudian period at least, the process of applying for the *civitas* was arguably the precise moment at which a Greek would first encounter the need to make the case for his cultural Romanity.[189]

In principle at least, knowledge of Latin was another requirement for any Greek hoping to don the toga. Augustus surely would have conducted his planned interview of this Tiberian candidate in the Roman mother tongue. Greek upper-class knowledge of Latin generally is conceded nowadays as probably greater than used to be thought.[190] However, another Suetonian anecdote suggests the pressure on elite families of Roman citizens in the Greek-speaking provinces in the early principate to keep up their Latin in later generations. The emperor Claudius punished a leading *civis* from old Greece (*splendidum virum Graeciaeque provinciae principem*) for his ignorance of Latin by striking him off the list from which citizen jurors were empanelled for the Roman courts and even stripping him of his *civitas*. Following the precedent of Augustus, Claudius on this occasion resorted to a personal interview in which he tested the man's Latinity: the victim had to give an account of himself before the emperor in his own words, as best as he could, and with no Roman patron on hand to support him.[191] This unknown notable cannot have been a first-generation *civis* because under Augustus and on into Flavian times Antony's generous treatment of new citizens no longer stood and they were excluded from the jury panels in Rome.[192] His story suggests the advantages for ambitious Greek families seeking advancement in a Roman world of access to a Latin-speaking

[189] Ando 2000: 4 notes Gibbon's old argument that the Romans offered citizenship as a reward for those who adopted Roman culture.

[190] Adams, Janse and Swain 2002: 19.

[191] Suet. *Claud.* 16.2. *Splendidum virum Graeciaeque provinciae principem, rerum Latini sermones ignarum, non modo albo iudicium erasit, sed in peregrinitatem redegit. Nec quemquam nisi sua voce, utcumque quis posset, ac sine patrono rationem vitae passus est redere.*

[192] Plin. *HN* 33.30 with the discussion of Ramsey 2005: 32–6.

milieu. Paradoxically Claudius was also said to have been generous with the *civitas*, apparently as part of a policy of inclusiveness which prompted his controversial decision to seek the admission of provincials from Gallia Comata to the Senate. His position was ideological, as well as anything else, since his own account of Roman identity enlisted its supposedly mongrel traditions.[193] However, it should also be allowed that by the forties and fifties AD the Roman-ness of the provincials themselves supported this change of heart at the centre of power. The significant number of families of Ti. Claudii and P. Memmii among the elites of Greece can be interpreted both ways: evidence of Claudian generosity, but also of increasing Romanity at this social level.[194]

As the next chapter will show, Latin teaching was available in Athens by the forties BC. Association with the colonies of Italian Romans implanted in the Greek world in the later first century BC, usually, but not always, for legionary veterans, was another means by which Greek notables could access a Latin-speaking milieu. It is surely no coincidence that the earliest enfranchised notables from Greece include people strongly connected to Corinth, the colony founded by Julius Caesar in 44 BC. Caninius Agrippa held high local office there; so did the son and grandson of Eurycles; and so did the son of Nicatas, as well as his more distant progeny. These same people also number among the earliest Greek-originated *cives* from mainland Greece to pursue Roman careers as knights: Agrippa was an imperial procurator; so were the son and grandson of Eurycles; and so was the great-grandson of Nicatas, Cn. Cornelius Pulcher. These last two narratives of intergenerational progress up the ladder of Roman statuses hardly prove in themselves, but do raise the possibility, that from early on Greek elite families consciously pursued strategies of Roman advancement over the long term. Under Augustus they already had before them the career progression (atypical in hindsight, but contemporaries would not have known this) of the posterity of Theophanes of Mytilene, producing an Augustan procurator of Asia and even, late in the same reign, a Roman senator, his grandson.[195] The spectacular ascent of

[193] Sen. *Apocol.* 3.3. *ILS* 212 (the so-called *Oratio Claudiana*), with Tac. *Ann.* 11.23–24. Wallace-Hadrill 2008: 453 for the Claudian 'paradox'.

[194] The 'surge' in grants under Claudius, as represented by the number of prominent families of Ti. Claudii and also of P. Memmii, obliged to the brokerage of P. Memmius Regulus, governor of Achaia AD 35–44, and its relationship to changes in imperial 'policy', has been recognised: e.g. Lafond 2006: 60. Balzat 2011 clarifies for the first time on the basis of a careful methodology the province-wide scale of this surge and its relation to other evidence for close links between the families concerned and leading Roman senators and members of the imperial house.

[195] Q. Pompeius Macer, praetor in AD 15. *PIR*² P 625 and 626; cp. Buraselis 2001.

the family of Herodes Atticus, and the brand of Romanity which it cultivated over the generations to this end, will be discussed in the next chapter.

Among our sample group from Greece, the families of Agrippa and Nicatas adopted a deliberate policy of using Roman proper names. Agrippa was apparently named by his father Alexiades for M. Agrippa, with whom there must have been a family tie; later generations of the family retained fully Roman nomenclature to judge from an apparent descendant at Corinth, P. Caninius Agrippa, a quinquennial duovir *c.* AD 68/9.[196] Nicatas gave his son a fully Roman nomenclature: Cn. Cornelius Pulcher, as he was called, was the first of three generations of Cornelii Pulchri; two known females of the same patrilinear family, Calpurnia Frontina and Cornelia Pulchra, display the same fashion.[197] This kind of quasi-dynastic behaviour fits with the way in which Greek notables under Roman rule, in general, 'increasingly presented themselves as members of families, or an elite of families'. The work of Costas Panagopoulos and Riet van Bremen has done much to focus attention on the force of family feeling and 'family values' in this milieu, as revealed by civic inscriptions and by literary works such as Plutarch's *Moralia*.[198] A copious epigraphy leaves in no doubt that this stratum had a strong sense of family pride and of the achievements of ancestors, as we shall see later. In the civic context, family members came together to fund benefactions collectively, and wives (as we shall see) and daughters stepped forward as benefactresses and – particularly in Roman Asia Minor – as civic and provincial office-holders in their own right as part of this larger effort to maintain and improve the family's social standing. The archaeological evidence for private houses in Roman Greece, albeit fragmentary, reflects this social development, suggesting an 'opening up of the house to the world', and that 'female family members would have been less restricted in their movements and would have had greater autonomy'; this change may have been stimulated by 'Roman cultural influence', a point returned to below.[199] At the social level of the elites the Classical notion of the *oikos* as a multi-generational unit survived and was revalorised at least in some parts of the Greek world. The decrees of consolation for Lamprias discussed earlier refer to his kinship with 'hierophantic and daduchic houses (*oikoi*)' in Athens, to the distinction of his own family, 'second to no house (*oikos*) in the most renowned and noble cities of Hellas',

[196] *RP* 2 COR 134–135. [197] For Cornelia Pulchra see *IGR* 4.1492, cited by Swain 1996: 163.
[198] Panagopoulos 1977; van Bremen 1996, on which this discussion is heavily dependent: note esp. 97, 136–7, 239 n. 11, 241–51, 257–9, 300.
[199] Nevett 2002: 95, 96.

and to his kinship with 'the first houses (*oikoi*) of the city (of Sparta)'.[200] The preoccupation with wealth conservation produced family strategies to husband property by means of adoption and close-kin marriage, as well as by inheritance practices that seem to have favoured sons over daughters. As in full aristocracies of more recent times, family members from time to time could have been caught between their duty to their 'house' and their private desires.[201]

It might be argued that, even in the Antonine heyday of Greco-Roman political integration, the reality was that only a minute fraction of eastern notables gained admission to the Roman governing stratum. Some 350 senatorial families from the east are attested. Even if the actual amount was more like double, it is obviously tiny when set beside the hundreds of eastern cities, each with a town-councillor class itself numbered in the hundreds, and occasionally thousands.[202] It would be wrong to generalise from such data about the overall attitudes of eastern notables to acquiring these statuses. A well-known passage in Plutarch suggests that by around AD 100 eastern hunger for equestrian posts outstripped supply. In the second half of the following century, this same shortage prompted a type of equestrian 'anxiety dream' of which Artemidorus of Daldis included an interpretation in his dream-book.[203] In another passage, Plutarch implies that in his day the senatorial ambitions of eastern magnates could be well-nigh insatiable.[204] He illustrates this last point with reference to Chians, Galatians and Bithynians, and it is again an undoubted fact that the recruitment of eastern provincials into the senate under the principate represented above all the advancement of Asia Minor, not Greece.[205] Once more, caution is required in exploiting this statistic to make generalising claims about the varied political attitudes of the magnate class in different provinces. Since property qualifications had to be met for entry into both equestrian and senatorial orders, economic differences undoubtedly were a crucial factor in this pattern of recruitment, as clearly was relative size: Asia Minor was a subcontinent, its west coast containing some of the biggest and richest cities in the empire; moreover, a significant number of its earliest senators were of Italian origin. Achaia was one province, small and relatively impoverished (on this point see Chapter 5). Even so senatorial families

[200] Note *IG* iv², 84 and 86 (= Peek 1969: 29–31 no. 36), noting in particular 84, lines 30 and 31–33; 86, lines 8–9.
[201] Dewald 1993.
[202] Numbers of eastern senators: Halfmann 1993: 73, drawing on the work of W. Eck.
[203] Artem. 4, 28, discussed by Devijver 1996: 131–2.
[204] Plut. *Mor.* 814d–e (with Stadter 2002: 133 n. 16) and 470c. Saller 1982: 49–50, 76–7, 129.
[205] Chastagnol 1992: 162.

of apparently indigenous patrilineage are attested from Athens, Sparta, Messene and Thespiae. Athens and Messene produced indigenous knights with active Roman careers; so too did Delphi, Epidaurus and Argos.[206] Six key centres of Roman-ness in Achaia can be identified on this basis, quite apart from the *coloniae* of Corinth and Patrae.

The picture of the Roman ambitions of Greek notables just presented anticipates political developments still in the future in the age of Augustus. The possibility that these developments could reflect the success of family strategies pursued over several generations requires some discussion of the imperial cult. As is well established, from the reign of Augustus on, notables funded and staged both the permanent cults and the ephemeral celebrations which constituted ruler-worship in the provinces. Their participation was crucial for the vitality, indeed the survival, of the institution. Literary and epigraphic texts make clear the social prestige attached to the position of imperial priest at civic as well as provincial level.[207] There is little disagreement nowadays that provincial emperor-worship provided a local stage for the expression of loyalty to the emperor and the imperial system. There is no doubt either that this ideological-cum-political function of the cult was recognised both at the centre of the empire and at the level of the local notables. Even those provincial grandees who had successfully risen into the ranks of Roman knights and senators were still willing to hold imperial priesthoods in their home cities and provinces. The high status of these people reflects the political importance which the imperial government attached to celebrations of the cult.[208] It therefore comes as no surprise that the pattern of social mobility among the eastern elites shows that service in the local or provincial imperial cult, his own or that of ancestors, routinely prepared the ground for a notable's admission to the highest Roman orders. Families of notables planning strategies of advancement accordingly could, it seems, entertain an instrumentalist view of their involvement in provincial emperor-worship.[209]

In a famous passage Tacitus dismissed the Mytilenean divine cult for Cn. Pompeius Theophanes as *Graeca adulatio*: Greek flattery.[210] A tendency in the older scholarship to see the role of provincial notables in the imperial cult as essentially political has gone out of fashion in recent years. Yet the Tacitean linkage of worship of a powerful individual with flattery, from

[206] Halfmann 1979: 68 (senators); Rizakis 2001: 188 and Spawforth 2002: 105–6 for Roman knights and senators from Achaia (to the knights should be added Sex. Olius Secundus of Augustan Corinth: *Corinth* 8.3, no. 152).
[207] Price 1984: 122–3. [208] Quass 1982: 211–13.
[209] Stein 1927; Bowersock 1973: 182–4; Quass 1982: 211–13. [210] Tac. *Ann.* 6.18.

an author intimately versed in the ways of the imperial court, provokes reflection. This was a view of the imperial cult that educated Greeks could also hold: Pausanias too associates the imperial cult of his day with 'flattery', *kolakeia*.[211] Worldly calculation need not imply 'elite scepticism', although in practice local priests of the emperor were complicit in a system conferring divine honour on bad as well as good emperors.[212] Flattery of the emperor as such was hardly incompatible with, indeed would surely be eased by, heartfelt sentiments of loyalty and gratitude, sentiments sharing in the widespread ancient perception that the extraordinary power of the Roman emperor was god-like.[213] Emotionally the imperial cult was a particularly compelling vehicle for the expression of loyalty because 'it indicated the exact point at which the subject felt himself to be a subject'.[214] As for flattery, the creation under Augustus of a de facto autocracy made this an inevitable behaviour in the upper echelons of Roman imperial society:

> When the ruler holds the power to advance you or hold you back, include you or exclude you, even ultimately decide whether you lived or died, then as a subject your actions and words inevitably become something of a 'performance' put on for the benefit of the ruler to convince him or her of your worthiness or loyalty. (Paterson 2007: 136)

The advent of imperial monarchy created new conditions of patronage for all those involved in the Roman system of power. Greek civic notables were part of this system by virtue of dominating a bottom tier of local government which was absolutely central to 'the routine functioning and stability of the imperial state'.[215] In that sense all of them were, no matter at what far-flung remove, de facto agents of the imperial state. Those who directly enjoyed imperial favour, like the Spartan Euryclids, more obviously resemble the courtiers constituting, in the terminology of modern court studies, the 'outer court': people personally linked to the ruler but not normally a part of his immediate entourage.[216] The Suetonian anecdote about the *Graeciae princeps* deprived by Claudius of the support of his *patronus* at Rome (above) is a reminder that these notables *qua* provincial politicians routinely relied for protection on influential Romans higher up in the system, as Plutarch makes clear:

[211] Paus. 8.2.5. '. . . no longer are gods born from human beings, except in the flattering words addressed to the power'.

[212] Price 1984: 114–17; Lendon 1997: 160–75: 'Eagerness to partake of the honour the cult offered required complicity in the ideology of the cult, even if that ideology wore thin at times, becoming no more than rhetoric under bad emperors' (p. 167).

[213] Ando 2000: 54–9, 386–98. [214] Momigliano 1987: 104. [215] Burton 2001: 202–5.

[216] Butz and Dannenberg 2004: 12 for this concept.

Not only should the statesman show himself and his native city blameless toward [the Romans], but he should also have a friend among the men of high office, as a firm bulwark of his administration, for the Romans themselves are most eager to promote the political interests of their friends . . . (Plut. *Prae. ger. reip.* 814c)

As such, the foremost Greek notables were themselves links in the vertical structures of patronage characteristic of Roman imperial society, as described by Aloys Winterling:

Relations formerly based on reciprocity – despite the different positions of those involved – now changed in the direction of an independence of those at the top from those at the bottom. Those in superior positions, in turn, only had to orient themselves toward the top, in the direction of the emperor, and were certainly no longer dependent on those placed below them, those supported and promoted by them. In this way, reciprocal *amicitia* evolved into a hierarchically structured favour because of the new imperial position of power – favour that was passed on or denied unilaterally from top to bottom and sought out of utilitarian considerations by those at the bottom from the top. The whole of the senatorial aristocracy and the noblest families of the equestrian order were integrated within this new system of imperial favour. (Winterling 2009: 48)

In practice, such a system turns elite provincials in search of advancement into potential courtiers and also into targets of courtier-like styles of communication from those below them: hence the preoccupation with distinguishing friends from flatterers in Greek imperial literature.[217] The implantation of this system in the provinces at the dawn of the principate is clear from the appearance of an essentially new class of public honours, in which one notable gives honour to another, sometimes veiling the implied asymmetry within the relationship by the language of friendship, sometimes acknowledging it more openly with the term 'benefactor'. In Greece proper, the Romanity of this development is clear from the prominence among those singled out in this way of the Spartan Eurycles, a favourite of Augustus, and his equestrian descendants.[218] When favour cascades downwards from the emperor, it is in the interest of those nearer the bottom

[217] Note Plut. *Mor.* 93b–95b and 48f–74e. For this short work, on 'How to recognise the flatterer', see Whitmarsh 2006.

[218] For Roman Greece a by no means exhaustive trawl yields the following list:
Boiae: the city of Boiae and the resident Romans set up a statue in honour of C. Iulius Eurycles, their *euergetēs*, *SEG* 29.383
Gytheum: the Roman businessmen in Laconia set up a statue of C. Iulius Eurycles, their *euergetēs*, *SEG* 11.924 + 23.197.
Corinth: Grania Quinta sets up a (?) statue of P. Caninius Agrippa, *Corinth* 8, 2, 65.
Cydichus son of Simon of Thisbe sets up an honorific statue of C. Iulius Laco, *Corinth* 8, 2, 67 (Claudius).
Corinth: [——]thocles sets up an honorific statue of C. Iulius Spartiaticus, *Corinth* 8, 1, 70 (Nero).

to emphasise their loyalty when soliciting favour from people closer to the centre of power than they are. In this way, imitation of the imperial example, or alignment with imperial ideology, becomes a 'utilitarian' strategy pervading a 'court society', as imperial Rome was in its upper echelons. To reformulate a point made earlier, reading the emperor's wishes correctly was to the advantage of all who sought his favour, however indirectly. That this was quickly understood by Greek provincial elites is shown by their expertise in the twists and turns of imperial dynastic ideology which they then incorporated into the local imperial cult: hence the awareness in the *lex sacra* from Gytheum of Tiberius' desire to stress his links to the Julii; hence the high priesthood of Antonia Minor held (and no doubt instituted) by the Athenian notable Ti. Claudius Novius, a new office mirroring Antonia's dynastic prominence under Gaius and the early reign of Claudius.[219]

These examples show that, in Greece at any rate, local notables were, or could be, well informed about the imperial court. For the argument of this book, the question of the extent to which leading Greeks of the *polis* world from the first century BC on were exposed to the Roman mindset, its values and ingrained thinking, is of central importance. Even if they never left their province, local elites in the Greek-speaking provinces were routinely exposed to Romans and Roman ways through contact with Rome's representatives, the provincial magistrates. Resident Romans, mentioned earlier, were also a permanent presence in many cities, including Gytheum.[220] The inscriptions indicate 'a paradigm shift in the level of involvement of Romans

Corinth: An anonymous *amicus* sets up a posthumous statue of M. Antonius Achaicus, *Corinth* 8, 3, 224 (Trajan).
Olympia: M. Antonius Alexio erects a statue of C. Iulius Laco, his *euergetēs*, *IVO* 426 (Claudius).
Olympia: M. Antonius Proclus and Antonia Callo his daughter set up a statue of Claudia Cleodice, their *euergetis*, *IVO* 223 (AD 41–54).
Athens: Himertus son of Polycharmus of Marathon sets up a (?) statue of Polycharmus son of Eucles of Marathon, his *euergetēs*, *IG* ii², 3530.
Athens: Dionysius Aulus of Marathon sets up a (?) statue of Polycharmus son of Eucles of Marathon, his *euergetēs*, *IG* ii², 3524 with the restoration proposed by Kantiréa 2007: 173 n. 7.
Athens: Ti. Claudius Theogenes sets up a statue of C. Iulius Spartiaticus, his *philos*, *IG* ii², 3538.
Sparta: the brothers Ti. Claudius [.]at[.]es and T. Octavius Longinus, sons of Cassander, set up a statue of Ti. Claudius Hipparchus, their *euergetēs*, *IG* v, 1, 516 (see *RP* 2 LAC 301).
Tegea: M. Pompeius Eisas Aelianus erects a statue of his *philos*, M. Pompeius Macrinus (*cos. suff.* AD 115), evidently broker of his citizenship, *IG* v, 2, 151 + cor. ad. 151 (reign of Hadrian); cp. *PIR*² P 628.

[219] See Kantiréa 2001.

[220] For a revisionist view of the Cloatii brothers, Italian moneylenders and residents at Gytheum in 71/70 BC, as a relatively benign presence in the city, see Santangelo 2009a.

in Athenian civic life' in the post-Sullan period.[221] Their wealth and their ties to the patronage networks of Roman society gave the most successful of these diaspora families considerable influence and status in their host communities. Greek belief in their political efficacy with Rome's rulers is shown by 'the embassy of the first and the best Romans and Hellenes' which, as a recently published inscription reveals, the citizens of Assos in the Troad sent to the emperor Gaius. The extent of their political alignment with the local class of notables has been startlingly highlighted by a decree of Thracian Maronea under Claudius. This text depicts the resident Romans collaborating with the magistrates, priests and councillors of the city – the local elite, that is – to sanction the anti-democratic step of removing from the citizen body its traditional right to appoint ambassadors to Rome.[222]

Modern research has rightly emphasised the evidence for the cultural hellenisation of these families of diaspora Romans. As already noted, in the late republic and early principate leading families of the diaspora were gradually integrated in effect into the class of notables as local office-holders and benefactors, to the extent that the category of '*Rhōmaioi*' all but disappears from Greek epigraphy by the years around AD 100. But these families of Italian origin also retained a Roman identity. Roman dress was one means of doing so: in the eighties BC, at any rate, the Romans of Asia typically wore the toga in public.[223] Naming strategies were another, as in the case of the Hadrianic sophist P. Hordeonius Lollianus, whose family had settled at Ephesus in the late republic.[224] The Latinity of the Augustan declaimers in Rome hailing from this milieu, Arellius Fuscus and his ilk, suggests a conscious bilingualism. This persistence of Roman identities helps to explain why settler families were among the first to reappear in imperial Rome as eastern knights and senators, such as the Vettuleni of Elis in the Peloponnese, whose males retained full Latin nomenclature (and presumably fluency in Latin) throughout the first century AD, up to and including the L. Vettulenus Laetus who was both an equestrian officer in the Roman army and priest of the prestigious Greek cult of Zeus at Olympia in AD 85.[225] Purcell has recently stressed the importance of the Roman diaspora in the local context as 'a mediator of authority' between

[221] Byrne 2003b: 9, the evidence coming from lists of prytaneis, gennetai and ephebes. He estimates at between about 6.4% and 11.2% as a ratio of 'Roman Athenians' to the native citizenry in the period between Sulla and Claudius.

[222] *I. Assos* 26, cited by Wörrle 2005: 155 in his important commentary on the Maronea decree published by K. Clinton. Ibid. 147 for the involvement of the local *Rhōmaioi*.

[223] Cic. *Rab. Post.* 26–27.

[224] Puech 2002: 33, 327–30.

[225] See Adams 2002 on the use of bilingualism by the Delian *Italici*. Zoumbaki 2001: 248 (stemma of the Vettuleni).

the Roman centre and local communities and as a factor in the emergence of 'local Roman-ness'.[226] In the course of the first century AD Achaian and Asiatic notables intermarried with families of Italian stock, whether settled in Greek cities or Roman *coloniae*: the mother of the Athenian *consul ordinarius* Herodes Atticus, a Vibullia from colonial Corinth, offers one example in Achaia.[227] This 'marrying into' Roman-ness was another weapon in the strategies of family advancement deployed by eastern elites. Elizabeth Rawson stressed that the role of this diaspora 'in the development of Graeco-Roman civilisation should not be ignored'.[228] Nonetheless, it continues to be underestimated, partly from confusion over the ethnic origins of such prominent figures in the milieu of declamation in Augustan Rome as Arellius Fuscus and Cestius Pius, of whom more in Chapter 2.

Finally, in the case of first-century BC Greece, leading Romans were an increasingly frequent presence as pilgrims, tourists and, at Athens, as students in the third, rhetorical, phase of a Roman education. These phenomena, and some of the Roman individuals in question, will be discussed in later chapters, although the extremely close ties of the ruling circles of Athens in particular with the Roman political class need stressing. These ties first emerge with real clarity from the writings of Cicero. On the basis of the unique insight provided by his letters, Rawson has shown that the great Romans who visited Athens in the late republic, people such as Ap. Claudius Pulcher, consul in 54 BC, were usually the guests (*hospites*) of Athenian magnates.[229] For the purpose of this book, *hospitium* is a vital, if elusive, vehicle for the communication of the cultural outlook of the Roman elites to upper-class Greeks: it has been characterised as 'instrumental in the Romanization of local élites . . . and in their integration into the Roman ruling class'.[230] In the case of these Athenians, Cicero reveals that the social intimacy which *hospitium* fostered could extend to a Roman guest's involvement in the family affairs of the Greek host. Thus, in 51 BC, Cicero wrote to Atticus expressing concern about some unspecified threat to a house in Athens belonging to a Pammenes, at the time a 'boy' (*puer*), and evidently a member of the prominent Marathonian family which used this name; later in the next decade Cicero was kept informed of the progress of own son, studying in Athens, by Athenian contacts in this same social stratum.[231] These social contacts were not exclusively operational in

[226] Purcell 2005: esp. 104–5. [227] Spawforth 2002. [228] Rawson 1985b: 12–13.
[229] Rawson 1985b: 59; Habicht 1997a: 348, 356. [230] *OCD*[3] s.v. friendship, ritualized (G. Herman).
[231] Geagan 1997: 30 n. 39, citing Cic. *Att.* 5. 20. 1ı0; 6. 2. 10. This Pammenes was probably the future priest of Augustus and Roma on the Acropolis: see ch. 3 below. Cicero's son: Habicht 1997a: 356. For this family and Greek oratory see ch. 2.

Athens, where Romans like Cicero and his son Marcus came to study in this period. They should be imagined as part of a social network embracing many, if not all, the locales on the Roman tourist itinerary in the Greece of the late republic and early principate, an itinerary including, as well as Athens and Sparta, Corinth, Sicyon, Argos, the Asclepieum of Epidaurus and Olympia, tended at this date by the city of Elis.[232]

A notorious vignette in Cicero's *Verrines*, datable to 80/79 BC, reveals an abuse of the hospitality of Philodamus, a leading notable of Asian Lampsacus 'accustomed to invite praetors and consuls to be his guests (*hospites*)', by the notorious C. Verres. Coveting the beautiful, unmarried, daughter of Philodamus, the Roman legate forced on the father, as a guest, a crony, one Rubrius, who proceeded, at a party in his honour, to demand to see the daughter – a breach of traditional Greek custom which must have brought rudely home to this rich Lampsacene a key difference in Greek and Roman mores.[233] To be set beside this brutish episode from the later republic are the civilised after-dinner conversations 'recreated or reinvented' by Plutarch in his *Quaestiones convivales* (*Table Talk*) from his personal experience as a host and guest in Flavian and Trajanic Greece (and Rome), with the interlocutors constituted as a social mix of eminent Romans alongside provincial notables.[234] Among the 'questions' discussed the differences between Greek and Roman customs are touched on; another work, the *Quaestiones Romanae*, likewise formatted as a series of 'questions' (113 of them), is entirely devoted to Roman customs and the parallels and similarities with Greek ones.[235] Archaeological evidence, noted earlier, suggests significant Roman influence on the organisation of Greek private houses, and by implication on the lifestyles which they contained, between the first century BC and the lifetime of Plutarch. This development in itself reinforces the case for seeing the upper-class Greek house under Roman rule as a vital site for the exposure of Greek notables to Roman ways and

[232] See Liv. 45.28.4, the itinerary of L. Aemilius Paulus in 167 BC.

[233] Cic. *Verr*. II, 1, 24 § 63–30 § 76.

[234] For the format: Lamberton 2001: 5–11, 24–5 (suggesting that the *Roman Questions* 'may be notebooks of a sort, jottings that record a brief intellectual engagement'). Preston 2001 discusses the authorial identity which the *Roman* and *Greek Questions* construct: 'Plutarch was both inside and outside Roman culture.' On the debated question of the underlying 'reality' of the *Table Talk* Titchener 2009: 400 sums up thus: 'Did the dinner party conversation happen as reported? Maybe.' For Plutarch's society, rightly seen as not straightforwardly divisible into Greeks and Romans, see Jones 1971: chs. 5–6. Teodorsson 2005 notes his 'rather striking acceptance of Roman imperialism'.

[235] In the *Table Talk* note *Mor*. 619b–620b ('Why the place at banquets called the consul's acquired honour'); 702d–704b ('The reason for the custom of the ancient Romans, not to allow a table to be removed empty, nor to let a lamp be extinguished'). *Roman Questions*: *Mor*. 263e–291c (vol. 4 of the Loeb *Moralia*).

Roman values.[236] Already in the mid second century BC Polybius, through his absorption of the Roman viewpoint while in exile in Italy, 'had begun to identify with his captors'.[237] Among Greeks of the ruling class this process of acculturation, for a whole complex of reasons, had progressed significantly further long before the reign of Augustus.

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In sum, this Introduction has argued that the Roman debates about moral decline, along with the political enmities of the triumviral age, prompted Augustus to stake out Hellenism in his bid to establish 'a sort of consensus about what Romans were like'.[238] The following chapters will argue that the regime created, in effect, a quasi-official narrative which identified 'old' Greece, Athens and Sparta above all, as emblematic of the Greek cultural and historical traditions most worthy of admiration and adaptation by Roman citizen males. Underlying this choice was a long-standing distinction among the Romans themselves between 'good' and 'bad' Greeks, a distinction fuelled by recent Roman wars in the east and, above all, by the presentation of the civil war between Octavian and Antony as an epic struggle between the west and a barbaric Orient. As we shall see, this propagandistic presentation drew on the Greek imagery of the Persian Wars and thus served to highlight the famous victories of 'old' Greece over earlier barbarians from the east. The Augustan regime did not limit itself to incorporating symbols of 'old' Greece into the cultural programme aimed at the city of Rome itself, such as the Salaminian naumachia of 2 BC staged on the right bank of the Tiber. It also intervened – chiefly during the eastern tours of the leadership – in Greece itself. Later chapters will argue that it did so partly because in the last half of the first century BC Greece had become a site of unusual prominence in the philhellenic activities of the Roman elites. This was especially true of Athens, a leading centre of Roman studies abroad at this time. Through the *exemplum* of the princeps and his family, elite Romans 'going Greek', no less than the stratum of Greek notables, were to have their attention drawn to the edifying, even therapeutic, example of the Spartan *disciplina*, which Augustus would patronise in person. In Athens they were to be exposed, in declamations, recitations and lectures, to the pure Greek of the old Attica, for which purpose Agrippa would provide a magnificent new auditorium to project the moral stake of Augustan Rome in the stylistics of Greek high culture.

[236] Nevett 2002. [237] Henrichs 1995: 246 citing Polyb. 39.1.9–12.
[238] Wallace-Hadrill 2008: 454.

These imperial interventions invited cooperation from the local elites who managed the rich traditions of the historical *poleis* and sanctuaries of Greece. The Introduction has restated some of the well-known evidence for the close socio-political identification of the Greek elites with Roman rule and has stressed the increasingly Roman outlook of notables in Greece proper during the second half of the first century BC, measurable by the first trickle of evidence for Roman citizenship and for early Greek interest in pursuing Roman careers. It has been argued that Greek provincial elites were inevitably caught up in the new Roman system of patronage marking the shift from oligarchy to autocracy at the end of the republic. This shift encouraged the development of something of a 'courtier mentality' among the topmost Greek grandees, who were now under the political compulsion, when seeking to advance, or merely safeguard, the social standing of themselves and their *oikoi*, to display conspicuous loyalty to the princeps, including service in the imperial cult, and a broad Romanity of cultural outlook. This picture is broadly in line with modern debates about the cultural identity of the Greek-speaking elites, nowadays increasingly seen as fluid, with an emphasis on multiple identities, code switching and 'shuttling' between Greek and Roman identities.[239] Clifford Ando has stressed, rightly in my view, that the possession of *civitas* was by no means the precondition for the construction of Roman identities by non-Romans: as well as the imperial cult, one can point to, as Ando does, the acculturating exposure to Roman administrative structures routinely experienced by provincials taking part in local government as civic magistrates and officials.[240] This scope for the construction of Roman identities by notables broadly anchored to province and *polis* deserves more emphasis than it usually receives.

The cultural Hellenism which the Greek-speaking elites shared with the Roman governing class gave them a privileged channel of communication with the ruling power at those moments in Roman history when Greek culture became a Roman 'affair of state', as happened under Augustus. The following chapters will identify some of the Greek notables who acted on the ideological concerns of Augustus through the staging of civic rituals, building activity or in other ways. Absorption of the concerns of the regime by direct or indirect contact with imperial circles will have shown this type of Greek the direction of travel. In a famous passage Tacitus depicts Agricola personally promoting a Roman cultural agenda among the British elites:

[239] Wallace-Hadrill 2008: 6, 63–4 (code-switching). [240] Ando 2000: 14.

He praised the keen and scolded the slack, and competition to gain honour from him was as effective as compulsion. (Tac. *Agric*. 21 transl. H. Mattingly)

Informal conversations, lost to history, obviously took place between Greek provincial grandees and Augustus, Agrippa and other members of the ruling group. Characterised by his 'cunning' (*peritechnēsis*), Augustus will have known what tone would best suit his purpose when dealing with such sophisticated Greeks.[241] We come back here, finally, to an issue flagged up at the start of this Introduction, namely, the role of the Greek past in the playing out of relations between the Greek-speaking provincial elites and Roman power. Fergus Millar has succinctly summed up the historical problem thus:

. . . was constant reference to the classical past [in imperial Greek culture] predominantly a neutral exercise, or a means of flight from an oppressive and inglorious present; or had it a real function in providing a frame of reference or a channel of communication, or, even more positively, in actively shaping attitudes to the present? (Millar 1969: 12)

This book has been so far, and will remain throughout, in constant dialogue with this core issue in the Greek experience of imperial Roman rule. It should be clear by now that the view subscribed to here is that the Greek past indeed became a 'channel of communication' between Greek subjects and Roman *dunasteuontes*, and that it had the potential 'actively to shape attitudes to the present' by setting up 'Classical' Greece as a store of cultural excellence shared by Romans no less than by Greeks. However, the view taken here is that the operation of this channel of communication was far from being evenly divided between the ruling power and its Greek subjects. This book is sceptical of the idea that Augustus sought to use Hellenism to 'negotiate' a relationship with Greek provincial elites. The language of Dionysius of Halicarnassus, already noted, is clear: Augustan Rome placed pressure on provincials to accept her cultural leadership. At least in the case of Greece, the regime was arguably pushing at an open door. On the interpretation offered in the chapters to come, leading provincials were in effect being asked to promote Roman ideological themes which glorified the traditions of their own *poleis*: Athenian *artes*, the Spartan *disciplina*, the Persian Wars.

How the elites of the wider Greek-speaking world might have reacted to this ideological elevation of 'old' Greece is a question reserved for Chapter 6. For the notables of the historic centres of Achaia, mutual admiration was

[241] Cass. Dio 53.11.2.

a sound basis for supporting the new principate. The traditional societies from which such Greeks sprang possessed the ingrained habit, just like the Romans, of viewing present concerns through the lens of ancestral example. Greeks had always idealised the past. One thinks of the uses of Persian Wars memories by Athenian politicians seeking to galvanise popular hostility to Philip II of Macedon, or the third-century BC Spartan reformers who cast their revolutionary measures as a return to the ideals of Lycurgus.[242] The attachment of Athens, Sparta and other Greek cities to their pasts was well known among the Roman political class from generations of political and cultural interaction. The shrewdness of Augustus revealed itself precisely in seizing on this Greek penchant as a device for winning the allegiance of the Greek elites: the stratum in whose hands lay 'the symbolic and communal assertion of a city's identity'.[243]

[242] Cartledge and Spawforth 2002: ch. 4. Wallace-Hadrill 2008: 237–9 for Hellenistic Greek antiquarianism, including the Spartan revival of the Lycurgan customs in the late second century BC, for which see ch. 2.

[243] Millar 1993: 250.

CHAPTER 2

'Athenian eloquence and Spartan arms'

'Every state has its peculiar glory. Athens is famous for eloquence, Thebes for religion, Sparta for arms.' This Roman stereotype of the 'true Greece' comes in the form of a *sententia* or 'pointed saying' from a declamation on the theme of Leonidas and Thermopylae performed in Augustan Rome by the rhetor Cestius Pius, of whom more in due course.[1] This chapter explores two interventions in Greece by, respectively, Augustus and his son-in-law Agrippa which responded to, and consolidated, these Roman images of an idealised Athens and Sparta. Recent scholarship, repeatedly drawn on in this book, offers valuable interpretations of Augustan activity in Greece, and Athens in particular, much of it based on archaeological and art-historical evidence. These two episodes, however, provide the only really firm basis for the historical reconstruction of Augustan cultural initiatives in the two most famous cities of contemporary Greece.

ATHENS: THE AGRIPPEUM

Augustus is sometimes credited with a 'building programme' in Athens. In fact, the only Athenian monuments which can be attributed to his regime with complete confidence are, firstly, the so-called Roman Agora, a complex begun with funds from Julius Caesar and therefore not, strictly speaking, an Augustan initiative, and, secondly, the performance space known to Philostratus in his *Lives of the Sophists* as the Agrippeum. American archaeologists have firmly identified this structure with a massive building of Augustan date in the centre of the Athenian agora proper.

This complex forms part of the circumstantial, but strong, case for a visit to Athens by Augustus' son-in-law during his eastern tour, almost certainly in 16 BC, when, at the latest, this project was presumably conceived. Agrippa's building needs to be put into the larger context of the history of

[1] Sen. *Suas*. 2.5: *Omnibus sua decora sunt: Athenae eloquentia inclitae sunt, Thebae sacris, Sparta armis.*

Roman public works in the eastern provinces up until the reign of Augustus. As early as 52 or 51 BC Caesar was using his Gallic treasure to fund works in 'the leading cities of Asia and Greece',[2] including Athens, as just seen. Before this more widespread activity by Caesar, Athens in fact was the only Greek city in which leading Romans chose to take up the mantle of the Hellenistic monarchs as builders: Pompey gave fifty talents to restore the city; Ap. Claudius Pulcher commissioned his gateway at Eleusis; and Cicero contemplated building another at the Academy.[3] This earlier exceptionality of Athens, founded on Roman acceptance of her centrality as a symbol of Greek culture, is important for gauging the context of Agrippa's building activity there. As with the Roman Agora begun by Caesar, this activity cannot be cast at once in the mould of 'petition-and-response', as with so much routine imperial building activity of later date in the provinces. Along with Agrippa's work at Olympia, discussed in Chapter 4, it belongs to the small number of cases where a central initiative was likely to be at work, prompted by 'ties of religious and cultural sentiment, or devotion to a particular place'.[4]

The Agrippeum, a roofed auditorium with a low stage, is the major monument to a direct imperial interest in Athens under Augustus. Once built, it transformed the appearance of the Athenian agora. Its 'towering' height and central position allowed it 'aggressively' to dominate what had originated in the sixth century BC as a place of political and religious assembly and which, up until now, had always remained an open plaza. In conception the building can hardly be called 'Athenian'. Homer Thompson, the excavator of the Agrippeum, believed that the involvement of 'someone thoroughly familiar with Campania' and 'aware of and influenced by' the early-imperial fora in Rome would best account for the 'striking' resemblance of Agrippa's building to the roofed theatre at Pompeii, including the enormous roof-span, unparalleled in the Greek world at this date, and its deliberate placing 'at the back and on the axis of a colonnaded square'. Other elements which are typically Augustan are the use of marble (polychrome flooring and white marble for most of the exterior), the choice of the Corinthian style, and the quotations from the art and architecture of Classical Athens: in particular, the marble front of the podium for performers (Figure 1), panelled with male and female heads, the former based on a fifth-century BC athlete type, the latter of the 'ideal, fifth-century type: beautifully clean in design, utterly without expression'.[5] The crowning moulding, in which

[2] Suet. *DJ* 28. [3] Ferrary 1996; refs. at Shear 1981: 358.
[4] Shear 1981: 364. [5] Thompson 1950: 66.



Figure 1 Reconstruction of the podium of the Augustan Agrippeum, Athens.

palmettes alternate with lotus flowers, is almost identical with that found on a sculptured base from the campsite memorial which Augustus erected at Nicopolis.[6] In this amalgam of Italian, Roman and Athenian and in the 'classicistic atmosphere' pervading the whole, the building would not have looked out of place in Augustan Rome.[7] As such it is impossible to accept that the building was local work. Thompson hypothesises a collaboration between 'leading professionals both in the capital and the province'.[8] Indeed, nothing is easier to imagine than Agrippa's resort to the architects and artists who worked for him in Augustan Rome, and who – as we saw earlier – included at least one Athenian, the sculptor Diogenes, who carved Caryatids for Agrippa's Pantheon.[9]

Given its physical dominance of the surrounding space, the Agrippeum constituted a strong statement of Augustan purpose in the heart of Athens. But what was this purpose exactly? Athens already had an odeum at this date. In origin it was old, to be sure. The prototype of this type of building, it had been built or reconstructed by Pericles on the south-eastern slope of the Acropolis, well away from the agora, the fifth-century BC heart

[6] Zachos 2009: 276 with n. 14.
[7] Thompson 1950: esp. 66, 83, 87–8, 90–8. For the Italian component in the material culture of Augustan Rome see now Wallace-Hadrill 2000.
[8] Thompson 1987: 7.
[9] Zanker 1988: 139–43 on Agrippa's building programme. Diogenes: Plin. *HN* 36.11.

of Athens.[10] This earlier odeum had recently been completely rebuilt in the sixties BC after its destruction in the Sullan siege. The Cappadocian king Ariobarzanes I was the donor. He commissioned an 'international team' of architects, one Greek, the other two the Roman brothers Stallii, brought in perhaps for their familiarity with Roman roofing techniques.[11] Thompson assumed that in the relatively short space of fifty or so years this rebuilt odeum had come to seem old-fashioned. He also had to admit that archaeologists are 'embarrassingly ignorant' about its architecture.[12]

Some new beginning in the cultural life of Augustan Athens which Agrippa sought to encourage would best explain the construction of this large building on such a central site. In his study of odea, Rüdiger Meinel has argued that the Agrippeum was the model for a new type of Roman odeum intended as a luxurious amenity for elite use. Unlike the traditional Greek and Roman theatre, which survived in both halves of the empire, odea enjoyed the luxury of a roof, which improved acoustics as well as permitting use all through the year. They were, or could be, lavishly fitted, as with the Agrippeum. A later example, also Athenian, the odeum of Herodes Atticus, was praised by Pausanias for its rich interior, which included a roof of Lebanese cedar.[13] By and large the audience capacity of these imperial odea was relatively small – in the case of the Agrippeum, around a thousand. Sometimes admission may have been by invitation only, as with Roman *recitationes*, readings by elite authors of their works.[14] These odea served the needs of highbrow culture, including, as we shall see, declamation. Meinel saw this type of building as an architectural expression of the social and cultural superiority claimed by the local elites in the provinces and promoted by the imperial state so as to signal its support for the stratum on which Roman control of the provinces and their cities crucially depended. It is in this larger context that the Agrippeum should be understood. The combination of its highbrow function, its physical dominance of the agora and its 'Augustan' appearance advertised the support of the regime for the cultural practices of the elites.[15] The building should be understood as an amenity and a beacon aimed generally at all those people, Greek and Roman, who were drawn to Athens as a central symbol of Greek culture in this period. A possibly more controversial idea, proposed here, is that the

[10] Travlos 1971: 387–91; Hurwit 2004: 214–16.
[11] Vitr. 5.9.1; Paus. 1.20.4; *IG* ii², 3426–7; Thompson 1987: 4 (roofing); Habicht 1997a: 335–6 with n. 89.
[12] Thompson 1950: 89; 1987: 4, 6. [13] Paus. 7.20.3.
[14] Dupont 1997: 46. [15] Meinel 1980: esp. 191–203 and 359–63.

Roman builders of the Agrippeum also sought to channel Greek cultural activity in a particular direction.

The general function of the Agrippeum is suggested by the fact that the Athenians in the time of Pausanias called it an 'odeion', by the presence of a colossal statue of Dionysus 'worth seeing' inside, and by its (probably low) stage.[16] All this is compatible with its use as for theatrical performances.[17] The statue of Dionysus might seem to suggest a functional continuity with the old Odeum of Pericles, used in Classical times to stage the theatrical preliminaries (*proagōn*) to the dramatic performances proper in the theatre of Dionysus next door, as well as musical contests of the Panathenaea.[18] However, this odeum, as noted earlier, had recently been repaired and (to judge from the use of Roman architects) in some wise updated. There is no reason to think that it fell into immediate disuse with the building of the Agrippeum. As early as the fourth century BC, the Athenians promoted the assimilation of Dionysus to Apollo as a general leader of the Muses (*mousagetēs*).[19]

As it happens, the only attested use of the Agrippeum is precisely for public declamation: that is, the public performance by orators of show speeches on a fictional theme, a development first encountered, as we have seen, in first-century BC Rome. Writing in the early third century AD, Philostratus records performances there by two famous sophists, Alexander of Seleucia just before AD 172, and Philagrus of Cilicia in much the same period.[20] Around this time the structure was rebuilt on a reduced scale following the collapse *c.* AD 150 of the great roof, which evidently the Athenians had not had the nerve, or possibly the finance, to reconstruct.[21] It has always been assumed that it was only in the second phase, with the seating capacity reduced by about half, that the Agrippeum came to be used for declamation.[22] But this view has no authority, and the chronology, at least in the case of Alexander of Seleucia, is not clear-cut: his performance in the original Agrippeum is a distinct possibility.[23] In the second century AD the odeum at Smyrna was routinely used for declamation to judge

[16] Paus. 1.8.6; 14.1; Thompson 1950: 79–80 (statue); 93 (low stage).
[17] Thus Thompson 1987: 6.
[18] Hurwit 2004: 214.
[19] Cp. 'l'assimilation visuelle du dieu des Grandes Dionysies avec l'Apollon de Delphes' in the sculptured gables of the fourth-century BC temple of Apollo at Delphi: Croissant 2003: 181. Note too the likely artistic depiction of Dionysus as a leader of the Muses: *LIMC* 3.1 (1986) 416–17 nos. 129 and 511 (C. Gasparri).
[20] Philostr. *VS* 2.5 (571); 2.8 (579).
[21] Thompson 1950: 141: the reduction in size 'was presumably intended to reduce the difficulty and the hazard of roofing'.
[22] Thompson 1950, followed e.g. by Roddaz 1984: 436; Camp 1986: 194–6.
[23] As thought likely by Anderson 1989: 91.

from a passage in Aelius Aristides which gleefully records a rival's failure in a performance there to attract more than seventeen listeners.[24] Given his renown as a declaiming sophist, the penchant of Herodes Atticus for gifting odea – to Corinth as well as to Athens – is also a clear pointer to a principal function of this building type.[25] The statue of Dionysus in the Agrippeum was a talisman suitable for the declaimer, who needed to be something of an actor: in the early third century AD Nicagoras, a friend of Flavius Philostratus, would call tragedy 'the mother of sophists'.[26] *Prosopopoeia*, literally, 'impersonation' (of which more in Chapter 3), was a recognised sub-genre of Roman-period declamation in which the speaker actually adopted the role of a historical personage.

To my knowledge Paul Graindor is the only scholar to suggest a direct connection between the Agrippeum and the cultural scene of Augustan Rome: '[o]n peut se demander si l'Agrippeion n'était pas primitivement destiné aux déclamations et aux lectures d'oeuvres inédites qui étaient en vogue, à Rome tout au moins, du temps d'Auguste'.[27] Graindor's intuition is indirectly supported by the later evidence of Pausanias, who reported of the council house at Elis that it was used in his day for 'extempore declamation and recitations of written works of every kind'.[28] Greek council houses and odea were, of course, similar in plan. They could also, it seems, share functions.

Graindor was undoubtedly correct, in my view, to make this link with the cultural fashions of Augustan Rome. *Recitatio*, the public reading of a literary work by the author himself, was a contemporary practice with origins in Classical Greece which Asinius Pollio, consul in 40 BC, had done much to popularise at Rome.[29] Its relevance to the cultural agenda of Augustus is suggested by Dionysius of Halicarnassus, who claimed that the Atticising *metabolē*, 'revolution', of his time involved not only Greek oratory but also Greek (and indeed Latin) letters:

> This state of affairs has led to the composition of many worthwhile works of history by contemporary writers, and the publication of many elegant political tracts and many by no means negligible philosophical treatises; and a host of other fine works, the products of well-directed industry, have proceeded from the pens of both Greeks and Romans, and will probably continue to do so. (Dion. Hal. *De Or. Vet.* preface 3 transl. S. Usher)

[24] Ael. Arist. *Or.* 51.29–34, cited and translated by Russell 1983: 76–7.
[25] Corinth: Philostr. *VS* 2.551; Broneer 1932: 144–6 (suggesting a date of *c.* AD 175).
[26] Philostr. *VS* 2.27 (620): see Schmid 1887–97: I, 40–1 on the dramatic aspect of sophistic performance. Bonner 1949: 21 (of Roman declamation).
[27] Graindor 1927: 181. [28] Paus. 6.23.7, noted by Habicht 1998: 8 n. 43.
[29] Sen. *Contr.* 4 praef. 2.

Among these recent Greek writers Dionysius may have had the likes of Diodorus Siculus and Strabo in mind.[30] Under the principate speeches, too, could be read aloud, as opposed to orated: the younger Pliny mentions both Roman and Greek speakers in this connection.[31]

However, fully to appreciate the stylistic steer intended by Agrippa's auditorium, it is necessary to understand its larger architectural setting within the old Agora. The most remarkable building in its immediate vicinity was a temple of Ares, the Greek god of war, set down at right angles to the Agrippeum. It was seen by Pausanias, along with its cult-statue of the god, which he attributed to the fifth-century BC Athenian master-sculptor Alcamenes. His text is the basis for the archaeological identification of the site and its remains. The best known of the 'wandering temples' of Roman Greece, this building has often been discussed in recent work on Augustan Athens and the facts need only the briefest recapitulation. It was constructed on its Augustan site from parts of two older temples brought into the agora, which were then reassembled as a single building with the help of masons' marks to indicate which block went where. Most of the new structure was a rebuilding of a single Doric temple dating from the fifth century BC. Once thought to have been sited originally in Acharnae, this is now thought to have been relocated from the deme of Pallene, where a vacant set of foundations of the right date and size has been found. The marble sima was reused from the temple of Poseidon at Sunium, likewise of fifth-century BC date.[32] The lettering of the masons' marks on the transposed blocks indicates a broadly Augustan date, and a drain leading from the Agrippeum had to be realigned by the builders of the altar of Ares: so the construction of the temple postdates the new odeum.[33] Although no donor of the new temple is attested, its date and its right-angle relationship to the next-door Agrippeum are the reasonable basis for the modern view that, not only was the construction of the two buildings 'contemporary and closely related', but so too were their purposes, one a performance space, the other a cult centre.[34]

What was the significance of this moved temple? In general the painstaking relocation of sacred monuments in Greece and Macedonia is a noticeable phenomenon of the Augustan age: other examples, as well as from

[30] As suggested by Hidber 1996: 122–3 ('Über die Frage, an welche Werke Dionys konkret denkt, kann man nur spekulieren . . . ').
[31] Plin. *Epp*. 7.17.4: *Quamquam orationes quoque et nostri quidam et Graeci lectitaverunt*.
[32] Camp 2001: 116–17 (Pallene), Alcock 2002: 55, 189–91; Parker 2005: 398 n. 43.
[33] On this point: Spawforth 1997: 196 n. 22 citing the pers. comm. of Homer Thompson.
[34] Thompson 1987: 9.

Athens itself (considered shortly), are known from Thessalonice and (probably) Nicopolis and the Roman colony of Patrae – these last two both Augustan foundations, where the imperial context is particularly clear.[35] In Athens, as Greek 'embodiment of the ambivalent . . . forces of war',[36] Ares had hitherto been a minor god, denied a full civic festival: his worship in Acharnae was a deme-, not a *polis*-, affair; and he had no major temple in Athens or Attica before Augustus. Of the deities whom the Athenians traditionally held responsible for helping them in war, Athena in various guises took pride of place, not Ares.[37] Scholars, therefore, are no doubt right to see the elevation of Ares in the heart of Augustan Athens as broadly reflecting the prestigious place in the Roman pantheon of the war-god Mars, and specifically his centrality in the religious self-representation of Augustus, who endowed the god with a new epithet, 'Avenger', in recognition of the victory over Caesar's murderers at Philippi (42 BC), and who built him a magnificent temple as the centrepiece of the Forum Augustum, dedicated in 2 BC.[38] In Athens an imperial dimension is confirmed by Athenian inscriptions which associate Ares with Augustus himself and which hail as the 'new Ares' imperial princes on campaign – Gaius Caesar in the east *c.* 2 BC and Drusus Caesar in the following reign, AD 17–20.[39]

Yet there is a danger here of confusing aims with consequences. The cult of Ares in the agora was not specifically conjoined with the worship of the Roman emperor: the officiating priest was of Ares alone; Pausanias, for what it is worth, mentions no imperial statues inside the temple. The most likely date for the inception of the Agrippeum project (around 16 BC) also reduces, admittedly without quite negating, the likelihood that the occasion for this new temple was essentially imperial: that is, the later

[35] Rizakis 2009: 24–7. Athens (with earlier literature): Schäfer 1998: 101–2; Alcock 2002: 54–8.

[36] *OCD*[3] s.v. Ares (F. Graf).

[37] See Parker 2005: 397–9 on Athenian Ares. The art-historical argument of Hartswick 1990, that the prototype of the Ares Borghese statue type was an Augustan creation made specifically for the Athenian temple of Ares and not, as once thought, from the fifth century BC, indirectly supports the Pallene thesis: a relocated temple of the fifth century BC retaining its original dedication to Ares ought to have been accompanied by its original cult-statue of the same period. A problem with Hartswick's view is that the statue of Ares inside the transposed temple was made by Alcamenes, the famous Athenian sculptor of the later fifth century BC, according to Paus. 1.8.4. Hartswick's argument (270), that Pausanias was confused, is accepted by Schäfer 1998: 97 n. 211.

[38] Bowersock 1965: 95; Spawforth 1997: 188; Kajava 2001: 88; Whittaker 2002: 36; Kantiréa 2007: 111. Parker 2005: 398 n. 43 thinks that 'presumably' the temple was preceded by 'a sanctuary of Ares of some kind in the agora', although there is no evidence for it. The argument of Hartswick (preceding note), if accepted, strengthens rather than weakens the case for seeing the Agora cult as an entirely Augustan confection.

[39] Key texts: *IG* ii[2], 2953 (Spawforth 1997: 186–8); 3250; 3257. Kajava 2001: 88. The most recent discussion, Kantiréa 2007: 111–13, does not take full account of the more recent view, based on new archaeological finds, that the bulk of the fabric of the Ares temple derived from a site in the deme of Pallene, not of Acharnae.

mission of Gaius Caesar, who is thought to have passed through Athens in 2 BC on his way to the Euphrates to deal with Parthia.[40] Another suggestion – that the cult served as a warning of Roman bellicosity in the wake of recent Athenian manifestations of disloyalty to Augustus – is rather unconvincing: it would have been a case, if so, of a Roman steam-hammer taken to crack a Greek nut, since Athens hardly offered a military threat to Rome at this time.[41] Finally, neither of these conjectures explains why such an explicit axial relationship between temple and odeum was thought to be so necessary, one which made the altar of Ares the focal point of both buildings as you entered and left them by their respective entrances.[42]

A further, and final, archaeological clue comes in the form of the two – 'interesting' as Homer Thompson called them – bases for bronze statues which formed part of the original décor of the Agrippeum, 'standing outside but in a sheltered position', perhaps 'against the outer faces of the main walls of the building towards its corners'.[43] Each is identically decorated with two circular shields of hoplite type on the side, a third on the top creating the flat surface into which the statues were set (Figure 2). As the preserved fragments show, these were two bronze males approximately 1½ times life size, and at least one was heroically nude. These bases were clearly meant to evoke the Greek tradition of the battle-trophy which the victorious side set up in order to show complete command of the battle site. It did so by piling up the weapons of the vanquished, mainly shields, as a base for the wooden pole to which a further set of weapons was then attached. The Agrippeum bases are strikingly similar to a triangular marble base from the Kerameikos excavations, 'with round shields on three sides and holes on the top that may have been used for the setting up a tropaion monument in bronze'. There can be no doubt, therefore, that these males represented victorious commanders, perhaps characterised as such by their attributes – helmets, for instance.[44]

[40] Bowersock 1984: 173 followed by Schäfer 1998: 95. Hartswick 1990: 267 argues that the youthfulness of the beardless Ares Borghese type (in his view reflecting an Augustan creation) was intended to present C. Caesar as a 'young Mars Ultor'.

[41] Schäfer 1998: 94.

[42] On this point: Thompson 1987: 9: the altar was placed at the intersection of the axes of the two buildings.

[43] Thompson 1950: 80–2. These statues, still standing when the roof collapsed, formed part of the rich sculptural adornment of the original building, of which the excavators found other fragments, including a half life-size helmeted Athena and a 2½ times life-size draped figure, perhaps the Dionysus mentioned by Pausanias, who probably saw the odeum in its original phase, before the collapse: ibid.: 78–82, 131.

[44] Stroszeck 2004: 311 pl. 11. Apropos the Agrippeum bases note Schäfer 1998: 99: 'Diese Schildbasen verweisen offensichtlich auf einen militärischen Sieg der Dargestellten.' Thompson 1950: 82 notes that the open right hand of the better-preserved figure does not show any trace of a warrior attribute such as a spear.



Figure 2 Base in the form of a battle-trophy from the Augustan Agrippeum, Athens.

The only conjecture so far as to their identity, that they represented Augustus and Agrippa as victors of Actium, is not cogent. The surviving bases reference hoplite warfare, not a sea battle. Nor are images of Roman emperors associated with this part of the agora by Pausanias.[45] He only mentions statues of the Ptolemies 'in front of the entrance' to the Agrippeum and 'beyond' them ones of Philip and Alexander.[46] Imperial statues are also absent from his account of the interior and vicinity of the axially related temple of Ares: 'To his eyes, the Ares temple was a particularly congenial spot for Greek, and especially Athenian, heroes, to gather.'[47] Rather than imperial images, it is likelier that our two bases once supported *Greek* warrior figures. The statues of Philip and Alexander seen by Pausanias in the vicinity of the odeum are unlikely candidates: the hoplite shields of the surviving bases evoke Classical Greece. Probably

[45] By Schäfer 1998. [46] Paus. 1.8.6; 1.9.4. [47] Alcock 2002: 56.

these bases supported statues of famous Athenian generals which aimed to reference particular Athenian victories.[48]

To complete this reconstruction of what can be known of the original setting of the Agrippeum, brief mention is now made of the efforts to 'classicise' the agora by transposing other monuments into the area in or around the time of Augustus. Again, these structures are well studied and require only brief comment. The most striking was a temple of an unknown deity built in the Roman manner, that is, sitting on a podium and colonnaded across the façade only: this so-called South-West Temple probably incorporated Doric columns from a disused Classical building. A fine altar of fourth-century BC date was relocated from the Pnyx, the now-abandoned meeting place of the citizen assembly of Classical Athens. Three or four Ionic columns of fifth-century BC date were brought into the agora for reuse in an unknown context. John Camp, the director of the American excavations in the Athenian agora, speculates that the temple of Ares was 'perhaps the earliest' of these itinerant monuments, and characterises them all as 'lovely examples of outstanding Classical architecture'.[49] Existing Classical buildings were also repaired or refurbished at this time, including the Tholos, home to the standing committee of the council. The character of the agora was now transformed. Above all its traditional function as an open place of assembly (an 'agora' in the literal sense) was destroyed by the central placement and domineering scale of the Agrippeum. Pausanias and other late authors refer to the area as Ceramicus, Pausanias seemingly reserving the term 'agora' for the new Augustan complex to the east, an open market in the proper sense.[50] In contrast to the Agrippeum, a building essentially Italian and Augustan in style, the effect of the itinerant structures was to associate the environs of the Agrippeum with the Classical heyday of Athens in which the reused components originated.

It is the paradox of this visual juxtaposition of Augustan Rome and Classical Athens, I believe, which provides one of the three keys to understanding the Agrippeum and its purpose. The second key is the emphasis on warfare achieved by its adornment with statues of military heroes and,

[48] The closest analogy is the well-preserved monument decorated with hoplite shields which the Thebans set up after their victory at Leuctra (371 BC), a battle between hoplites: Stroszeck 2004: 305 figs. 2–4.

[49] Schäfer 1998: 101–2; Camp 2001: 191–2; Alcock 2002: 54–8 are among the most recent discussions. The 'SE Temple', reusing columns for the temple of Athena at Sunium and nowadays dated to the first half of the second century AD (Dinsmoor 1982: 431–3), shows the enduring force of this classicising impulse.

[50] Paus. 1.17.1 with Musti and Beschi 1982: 319–20 – the 'canonical view' according to Schmalz 2006: 38–40 with earlier refs., preferring himself to see a Pausanian reference to the so-called 'old agora', as does Robertson 1992: 46.

above all, by the prominence given to a conspicuously sited cult of the war-god Ares 'of the period of the Parthenon'.[51] Users of the Agrippeum were being encouraged to think about the martial glory-days of Classical Athens. The third key is the avowed interest of the Augustan political leadership in rectifying the recent direction taken by Greek civic oratory by steering its practitioners away from Asian floridity in favour of the 'Attic muse' associated with a Classical Athens presented here, in the heart of the Augustan city, as virile and victorious in war.

According to the interpretation offered here, the emphatically Augustan architecture of the Agrippeum was the visual assertion of the novel Augustan proposition that Rome was a stakeholder in the 'Attic' cultural taste which the Agrippeum was designed to promote. The 'Atticising' décor, the statues of Greek/Athenian warriors, and the newly arrived cult of Ares: this use of analogy signalled the donor's stylistic preference for the Attic muse and his ethical linkage of the style with the *virtus* and *bellica laus* of Classical Greece. As for the 'museum' effect created by the transposition of older monuments, this too has rightly been seen as linked to Augustan moral reform.[52] It was not the 'classical polis' in general, however, but specifically Classical Athens, which the 'museumification' of the old Athenian agora celebrated. To understand better the groups at which the Agrippeum and its remodelled environs were aimed, more consideration must now be given, not only to the nature of the performances for which the Agrippeum was built, but also to the identity of the intended occupants of its thousand or so seats.

Strabo makes clear that in the time of Augustus Athens remained one of the Greek centres of learning which still attracted 'many' people for the purposes of study (*kata philomatheian*), people who 'pass time there with pleasure'.[53] As well as the Hellenistic Greek world he had elite Romans in mind, since elsewhere he comments that some Romans of this type had recently preferred Massilia to Athens for their Greek studies.[54] The studies in question were, essentially, philosophy and rhetoric. The first century BC has been seen as the age when 'the Romans devoted themselves to Greek rhetoric with most passion'.[55] So far only the manifestations of this 'passion' in Rome itself have been considered. First-century BC Athens also occupied a position of prominence in this respect. Cicero thought that a Roman wishing to succeed in forensic oratory in the capital ought first to have studied his Greek letters there.[56] By the mid century, the numbers of

[51] Zanker 1988: 261. [52] Alcock 2002: 53 with refs. [53] Strab. 14.5.13; Daly 1950: 40.
[54] Strab. 4.5.181. [55] Rawson 1985a: 155. [56] Habicht 1997b, citing [14] Cic. *Div. Caec.* 39.

Roman students in Athens, although never large, was increasing: this was when Roman 'study abroad came to be an accepted practice with social as well as intellectual sanction'.[57] In the late republic we hear of a number of eminent young Romans who trained in Greek rhetoric at Athens. Cicero himself, as a student in Athens in 79/8 BC, studied with the rhetorician Demetrius of Syria;[58] around 65 BC Brutus, the future tyrannicide, did so in Athens with Pammenes, hailed by Cicero as 'the most eloquent man in Greece';[59] Mark Antony practised declamations (*meletai*) with unnamed teachers 'in Greece';[60] and in 44 BC Cicero's son Marcus, a student in Athens, declaimed in Greek first with Gorgias, a rhetor (that is, a teaching professional) and a figure of some importance following his subsequent move to Augustan Rome,[61] and then with a certain Cassius, at the same time planning exercises in Latin rhetoric with one Bruttius.[62]

It is only thanks to Cicero that we know about the activity of these particular teachers in first-century BC Athens and their Roman pupils; there must have been other teachers, just as there were other Roman students. There is a decided Romanity in the picture which Cicero paints of a rhetorical scene in late-republican Athens where the teaching embraced Latin as well as Greek rhetoric, a rather remarkable development in Athens at this date; two of the teachers have Roman names, that of Bruttius more clearly disclosing links with the bilingual milieu of the Italian diaspora in the east;[63] another teacher (Gorgias) went on to relocate from Athens to the capital. The social standing of these men clearly varied. Bruttius

[57] Daly 1950: 49.

[58] Cic. *Brut*. 315 (*Eodem tamen tempore Athenis apud Demetrium Syrum veterem et non ignobilem dicendi magistrum studiose exerceri solebam*).

[59] Cic. *Or*. 105 (*Sed tamen, et hunc tu* [i.e. Brutus] *oratorem cum eius* [sc. *Demosthenis*] *studiossimo Pammene, cum esses Athenis, totum diligentissime cognovisti*); *Brut*. 332 (*Pammenes vir longe eloquentissimus Graeciae*); *RE* 18.3 (1949) col. 303 Pammenes 3 (W. Kroll).

[60] Plut. *Ant*. 1.4.

[61] For Gorgias see the letter of Marcus to Tiro, Cic. *Ad fam*. 16.21.6 = 337 ed. Shackleton Bailey (Loeb), where Marcus describes Gorgias as 'useful to me in declamation practice' (*in cottidiana declamatione utilis*), before he dismissed him on his father's orders. Plut. *Cic*. 24 explains that Gorgias, called here a 'rhetor', was accused by Cicero of leading Marcus astray with 'pleasures and drinking parties'.

[62] For Cassius and Bruttius, both otherwise unknown, see the same letter (4–5): *Nam quid ego de Bruttio dicam, quem nullo tempore me patior discedere? Cuius cum frugi severaque est vita tum etiam iucundissima convictio . . . huic ego locum in proximo conduxi et, ut possum, ex meis angustiis illius sustento tenuitam. praeterea declamitare Graece apud Cassium institui, Latine autem apud Bruttium exerceri volo*. Bruttius: 'no doubt an Italian' (Shackleton Bailey).

[63] The two pages of Rawson 1985a: 12–13 on diaspora Italians are worth reading. Note a P. Bruttius Rufus among the Roman residents of Thespiae in AD 14: *CIL* 3.7301. For D. Iunius D. f. *Rhōmaios*, a diaspora rhetor who declaimed in Delphi's gymnasium (first century BC), presumably in Greek (Rawson 1985b: 77 n. 50), see Robert 1938: 13–17 (*akroas[eis poe]iomeno[s]*). For the declaimer and professor of rhetoric Cestius Pius, see below.

was a poor man, perhaps little more than a schoolmaster.[64] Pammenes, by contrast, sounds from Cicero's description like a cultural leader in the Greece of his day. His city of origin is nowhere stated and cannot be assumed to be Athens, where teachers in the first century BC were, if anything, more likely to be foreigners than natives. On the other hand, the devotion of this Pammenes to the Attic orator Demosthenes would suit an Athenian by birth. In Athens the name is not especially common.[65] Precisely in this period it was in use by several generations of a prominent family from the deme of Marathon with which Cicero was personally acquainted: as seen in Chapter 1, the welfare of Pammenes (II) as a 'boy' (*puer*) was a concern of Cicero in 51 and 50 BC.[66] This boy's grandfather, Pammenes (I), was a leading figure in the Athens of the Sullan age. On the reconstruction of Daniel Geagan, he was born around 112 BC, served as eponymous archon in 83/2 BC, and was still politically active in 66/5 BC, when he was a mint-magistrate.[67] Simone Follet has recently made the attractive suggestion that the orator and the archon are one and the same.[68] The identification would make Pammenes, as an Athenian prominent in both politics and oratory, an example of a well-known phenomenon in Greek epigraphy in Roman times: 'plus un personnage a de puissance, politique ou économique, dans sa cité ou dans l'empire, plus il y a de risques que son rôle culturel soit occulté dans les inscriptions par sa position sociale'.[69] On this identification, Pammenes would have been in his sixties – the right sort of age for the oratorical eminence which Cicero ascribes to him – when he taught the young Brutus. If a prominent Athenian orator–politician informally took a high-born Roman pupil, this need not make him a professor of rhetoric. Similarly there were prominent Roman public speakers of the late republic and early principate who were 'primarily orators not teachers', among them C. Asinius Pollio.[70] Much later, the rich and well-born Aelius Aristides, an eminent orator and declaimer of the Antonine era, 'rarely taught anyone and was opposed to the idea of teaching for pay'.[71]

The sort of audience which the Agrippeum was built to serve is becoming clearer. Athens in the last years of the republic had become, intellectually but also socially, an outlier of the capital. Rome had become integrated into

[64] So *RE* 3.1 (1897) cols. 911–12 s.v. Bruttius 1.
[65] *LGPN* 2 (1994) s.v. *Pammenes* lists 17 instances, if we exclude nos. 7–8 as fictitious.
[66] Cic. *Att.* 5.20.10 and 6.2.10 = 113 and 116 ed. Shackleton Bailey (Loeb). Geagan 1997: 30 n. 39.
[67] Geagan 1992: 38, who does not mention the teacher of Brutus. Rawson 1985a: 10 n. 35 makes the unwarranted assumption that Pammenes was a 'rhetor', that is (presumably), a teaching professional.
[68] Follet 2000: 189. [69] Puech 2002: 2–3. [70] Bonner 1949: 39. [71] Bowersock 1965: 13.

the Mediterranean network of Greek cultural centres, a network meshed together by the constant movement of people and ideas. Rome's superior position of power meant that this integration was not on equal terms, as is suggested by the flocking of Greek intellectuals to the capital of empire in the second and first century BC, or by such a small detail as the presence of a teacher of *Latin* rhetoric in triumviral Athens. This was a network which was not only bicultural but also, to an extent which is not always realised, bilingual. As for the types of performance which the Agrippeum was meant to house, in alluding specifically to declamation Graindor had in mind the fact that, by the time of Agrippa, the city of Rome, as a function of the emergence there of Latin rhetoric as a teachable skill, had become the centre of a new development in ancient oratory: firstly, the transposing of declamation, hitherto a training for public speaking by means of speeches on fictive themes by the student on his own or in the presence of his teacher (as in the examples cited above), from the classroom to a semi-public or public setting, where – secondly – the declaimers included, not only teaching professionals, but members of the Roman elite. Declamation was of Greek origin.[72] It was introduced to Rome in the second century BC, initially as a training exercise for Roman students of rhetoric. By the mid-sixties BC at the latest, declamation by teachers of rhetoric in Rome was starting to attract adults from the Roman elite, who sat in at the schools as auditors. At much the same time, this same type of upper-class Roman – Cicero is a case in point – took to declaiming themselves in adulthood as a way of staying limber for the challenges of public oratory, doing so either in private or before small groups of friends. Finally, no earlier, it seems, than the forties BC and above all in the reign of Augustus and thereafter, not only did declamation become a social activity to which the Roman public were expressly admitted, but elite Romans started to join the professors of rhetoric, standing up to declaim in semi-public or public on the same range of fictive themes, either in the houses of the professors or in other settings of which nothing is known. The elder Seneca, impassioned chronicler of this new kind of 'public exhibitionism', mentions a string of semi-public or public declaimers from the top drawer of early imperial society, including Paullus Fabius Maximus, consul in II BC, and two sons-in-law of Germanicus, Quinctilius Varus and Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus,

[72] Berry and Heath 1997: 406–8 for a useful overview of the history of declamation and its Greek roots, although some key questions are not addressed. At what point did declamation go public? Was *public* declamation originally a Greek or a Roman development? At what point did members of the *Greek* elite, as well as teachers of rhetoric, start to declaim in public?

father of the emperor Nero, who himself liked to declaim in public, doing so in the year of his accession.[73]

This imperial imprimatur was there from the start. Maecenas, Agrippa and the princeps himself joined the audiences of the declaimers; Augustus, indeed, was a 'regular'. There is every reason to think that Augustus and his coterie attended declamations from enjoyment. As Octavian, he was said to have declaimed in an 'elegant and temperate' Latin style.[74] Agrippa himself was an accomplished orator. He is known to have engaged in forensic oratory in the Roman courts, and the elder Pliny had read a 'magnificent speech of his, worthy of the greatest of citizens', on the subject of private works of art.[75] Simply by being a repeated presence, the leadership of the regime encouraged this new fashion for declamation to take root among the Roman political class. Their presence also helped to shape its content: the ideological alignment of the declaimers with Augustan ethics is shown by their attacks on Roman immorality.[76]

It needs stressing that there is no evidence that upper-class Greeks habitually declaimed in public at a date earlier than their Roman counterparts. The most that can be stated with a measure of probability is that in the late republic some professors of rhetoric in Greek cities, stimulated by the interest of visiting Romans, followed their peers in Rome by starting to offer semi-public master classes in their schools. Possible evidence for this development can be found in Plutarch's life of Antony, an enthusiastic orator who in adulthood continued to declaim for exercise. When he returned to Greece as triumvir, he liked, we are told, to attend the performances (*akroaseis*) of the scholars (*philologoi*). This rather vague formulation may well embrace declamations by professors in their schools.[77]

[73] This account follows Bonner 1949: esp. 31. See Fairweather 1981: 124, discussing Suet. *De gramm. et rhet*. 7.3: the 'daily examples of eloquence' (*cotidia praecepta eloquentiae*) given by the *grammaticus* M. Antonius Gnipho at his *schola* in Rome before *clari viri*, including Cicero as praetor (66 BC).

[74] Suet. *Aug*. 84; 86. Kennedy 1972: 312–14. For the frequency of his attendance at declamations note Sen. *Contr*. 10.5.22: the rhetorical clashes between Crato and Timagenes 'often' (*saepe*) took place 'in Caesar's presence' (*apud Caesarem*), or even 'in Caesar's house'.

[75] Sen. *Contr*. 10.5.21; Plin. *HN* 35, 26.

[76] Bonner 1949: 35–6. Apropos a declamation (Sen. *Contr*. 2.7) by the Spaniard Porcius Latro (whom Augustus is known to have heard in 17 BC): 'Augustus would fully have approved of Latro's exhortation to the Roman matron to dress with becoming modesty, mix with friends of her own age and station, lower her glance towards the ground and sacrifice politeness rather than *pudor*.'

[77] Bonner 1949: 35–6. Plut. *Ant*. 2.7. In this context App. *BC* 5.8.76 distinguishes between 'performances' and 'lectures': *didaskalōn diatribas ē akroaseis*. 'Masterclasses': C. Pelling pers. comm. For the meanings of *akroasis* ('any sort of verbal display'): Kaster 1995: 60. Philostratus regularly uses *akroasis* and its cognates in the sense of public declamation when describing the showy performances of the second sophistic: e.g. *VS* 20.601; 21.604; 23.606; 24.607; 25.611.

Clear evidence for public declaimers who were either Greeks or who were of eastern origin first emerges from the pages of the elder Seneca, with Rome, not the Greek cities, as their stage. These people formed part of the flood of eastern intellectuals drawn to Rome as the undisputed capital of *Greek* culture in the last decades of the first century BC – especially after Actium, which had left Alexandria, first-century BC Rome's only rival in this respect, culturally 'paralysed'.[78] What is also clear, and striking, is that these men, or at least some of them, were bilingual, including two of the most prominent, Arellius Fuscus and L. Cestius Pius, as well as Argentarius, a pupil of Cestius.

Seneca rated Fuscus among the four best declaimers of his day. He opened a school in Rome, declaimed in both Latin and Greek, and was heard by Maecenas. Seneca says that he preferred to declaim *suasoriae* in Greek than in Latin and that he was one of the *Asiani*.[79] He is usually assumed by scholars to have been Greek by origin. But his fully Latin nomenclature points in another direction: Arellii are found in the east among the *negotiatores* or Roman businessmen settled in Greek cities, and it is doubtless in this milieu that the explanation for his name and his bilingualism should be sought.[80]

The same is certainly true of L. Cestius Pius, despite his birth in Smyrna and the Greek origin accorded him by Seneca. Understandably, in the modern literature Pius is always taken to be an Asian Greek who received the Roman citizenship from one of the senatorial Cestii, although none of these is known as a governor of Asia, besides the fact that at this date (late republic) a viritane grant to a professional Greek teacher of rhetoric would be unprecedented.[81] A more fruitful approach is to pursue the likely link with the *eques* L. Cestius, a Roman tax-farmer at Ephesus in the mid first century BC and perhaps related to the senatorial Cestii.[82] That is, the social origins of L. Cestius Pius lay in this same bilingual diaspora of Italian

[78] Hose 1999: 286–7.

[79] Sen. *Contr*. 9.6.16; *Suas*. 4.5. *RE* 2.1 (1895) cols. 635–7 Arellius 3 (J. Brzoska): 'jedenfalls Grieche von Geburt'.

[80] Hatzfeld 1919: 40, 86 n. 3 and 385 s.v. Arellii lists bearers of this name on Delos, Naxos and Anthedon in the late republic: e.g. M. Arellius Q. f. and Q. Arellius M. l. Xseno, both attested in Latin inscriptions from Anthedon, a Boeotian port (*CIL* 3.12291–2). The *nomen* also appears at Ephesus, possibly introduced by *negotiatores* relocating from Delos after the disasters of 88 and 69 BC: Kirbihler 2007: 29 with n. 73.

[81] Neither is discussed in Holtheide 1983.

[82] Cic. *Flac*. 31 (. . . *L. Eppi, L. Agri, C. Cesti, equitum Romanorum* . . .). Identified with 'Cestius', resident at Ephesus in 51 BC, where Cicero had dealings with him as one of the *decumani*, Roman tax-farmers: *Att*. 5.13.1. See *RE* 3.2 (1899) col. 2005 Cestius 3 (F. Münzer). Certain links with the senatorial Cestii ('but it is impossible to say exactly how'): Wiseman 1971: 224.

and Roman businessmen, large numbers of whom were a notable feature of Smyrna in the first century BC. This world of *Rhōmaioi*, as the Greeks called them, abounded with Romans of sub-elite status, not to mention ex-slaves and others of libertine stock, and precisely for this reason could be stigmatised in the high society of the capital. Cicero, in a letter to his brother as proconsul of Asia, advises him to take no notice of the type of a 'Paconius' (a common *nomen* among the *negotiatores*), someone who is 'not even Greek, but more of a Mysian or Phrygian' (that is, of servile stock).[83] If Pius and his pupil (M.) Argentarius, another Augustan declaimer, could be classified as 'Greek' by Seneca, the likeliest explanation is, not that Seneca, a Spanish knight, was echoing the snobbery of Cicero, but that he means 'Greek' to mean essentially '(eastern) provincial', in line with a semantic development noted by Ferrary.[84] The observation of Olli Salomies, that 'local-born freedmen of Italian settlers must be regarded as provincials', despite 'having the same family name as the Italian immigrants', should be borne in mind: Pius may well have been of freedman descent.[85] Touchiness about his origins, as well as a careerist eye for the main chance, would help to explain the insistence of Pius on declaiming only in Latin once in Rome. The so-called poverty (*inopia*) of his Latin vocabulary, put down by Seneca to his being a Greek, may reflect a Smyrnaean upbringing in which Greek was heard more than Latin. But this limitation can only have been relative, since Cestius declaimed only in Latin when in Rome and it was his Latin eloquence which must mainly explain his ability to attract pupils in the capital of empire.[86] Fuscus and Pius are both outstanding representatives of

[83] Cic. *Ad Q. fr.* 1.1.19 (*hominis ne Graeci quidem*).

[84] Ferrary 2001: 32–3.

[85] Salomies 2001c: 141. See also the methodological comments of Kirbihler 2007: 20–1, especially on the difficulty of distinguishing between Greeks who owed their Roman citizenship to a Roman governor and who therefore bore non-imperial nomina, and the long-term Italian residents in the east, including their slaves and descendants.

[86] Sen. *Contr.* 7.1.27: *Soleo dicere vobis Cestium Latinorum verborum inopia <ut> hominem Graecum laborasse*. Pius generally: *RE* 3.2 (1899) cols. 2008–11 (J. Brzoska); Kaster 1995: 327–9. Note the libertine L. Cestii in a bilingual inscription from Smyrna, *I. Smyrna* 1, 425; cp. II, 1, 761. Cic. *Flac.* 29, 71, for the many Roman citizens in Smyrna. For diaspora Cestii: Hatzfeld 1919: 73, 128 and index; note C. Cestius Hor. Servilius, patron of Locrian Opous and its resident Romans (*IG* ix, 1, 283); also C. Cestius Heliodorus, *stephanephoros* in Priene sometime between 84 and 30 BC, who has been linked to Cicero's L. Cestius: *I Priene* 112.1 with Kirbihler 2007: 2 n. 13, citing him as an example of the social category of 'freedmen and their descendants, often not actual Italians', but 'halbromanisierte Griechen'. Wiseman 1971: 223–4 for links between Cicero's L. Cestius and the senatorial C. and L. Cestii of the first century BC; Spawforth 1996: 172 (traces of the name in colonial Corinth). The story (Sen. *Suas.* 7.13) of how M. Tullius Cicero, the orator's son, as proconsul of Asia in 29 BC had Pius beaten up for insulting his father's memory provides another indicator that the bumptious Pius was far from coming from the social top drawer of his province: it is hard to believe that a Roman magistrate at this date could have dished out such treatment to one of the *primores Asiae*. The drubbing of Voltaire, a socially inferior *littérateur*, at the hands of the servants of the

a cultural milieu which has so far been underplayed in the study of Greek and Roman rhetoric in this period: the bicultural, bilingual, world of the Italian–Roman diaspora, well enough known to scholarship these days (as noted in Chapter 1) for its pursuit of cultural Hellenism in the sphere of *agōnes*, but largely overlooked as a breeding ground for *philologoi* of a type whose bilingualism and inherited Romanity of outlook made them ideal conduits of acculturation at a time of intense interaction between Roman and Greek high culture. As cultural performers, Pius and Fuscus were clearly in a different league, or at least came to be as their careers developed, from the humble Bruttius who offered lessons in Latin rhetoric in Athens in the forties BC, about whom nothing more is heard. The first two reveal just how far ambitious and talented *philologoi* from this diaspora background could go at a time when the undisputed Mediterranean capital of Greek culture became Rome itself.

Stressing the intense intermingling of Greek and Roman oratory at this time, Martin Hose has rightly asked whether – and how – Greek oratory reacted to exposure to this new audience. Accepting the claims of Dionysius of Halicarnassus for the return of the Attic muse, he points to the biggest change in Greek oratory around the turn of the century, namely the adoption of an 'Attic' style.[87] In a further and related development, the cultural network of which Rome was now the heart served to diffuse the practice of public declamation from the metropolitan elites to those of the provinces, a process oiled, no doubt, by the connectedness of the communities of eastern *Rhōmaioi* with Rome and Italy. Among the public declaimers of early imperial Rome, Greeks from a socially elevated background are largely, but not completely, absent. The numerous Greeks named by Seneca are mostly obscure figures. A clear exception is Potamo, a leading notable of Mytilene and one of the great Greek orators of the late republic.[88] This nonagenarian, who taught in Tiberian Rome, is explicitly identified as

chevalier de Rohan-Chabot, comes to mind: Pearson 2006: 65–7. Ferrary 2001: 31 notes the Roman tendency to use *Graecus* as a simple equivalent of 'provincial'. Other Senecan declaimers usually classed as Greek (e.g. Kaster 1995: 327; Migliario 2008: 86–7) but from this mixed background include (probably) Volcacius Moschus and (certainly) (M.) Argentarius, a pupil of Cestius Pius, and like him called by Seneca a 'Greek', but one who, like his teacher, stuck firmly to the principle of never declaiming in Greek (Sen. *Contr*. 9.3.12–13). As in *RE* 2.1 (1895) cols. 711–12 (J. Brzoska), he is usually identified with the poet M. Argentarius of *The Garland of Philip*. 'Argentarius', Latin for 'banker', belongs to a family of Latin *nomina* ending in –arius formed on occupations which the bearers of these *nomina*, or their ancestors, once pursued, probably as slaves. See Schulze 1904: 415–16, with examples of Argentarius as a *nomen* at Beneventum and at Brundisium. For banking as a primary occupation of eastern *negotiatores* see Hatzfeld 1919: 197–212; Kirbihler 2007: 28.

[87] Hose 1999: 286–7.

[88] The Senecan declaimers classed as Greek in Bornecque 1967 include Aemilianus, Crato, Damas of Tralles, Hermagoras of Temnos, Menestratus, Pausanias and Plutio as well as those discussed above.

a declaimer: Seneca knew of his *suasoria* on Thermopylae.[89] Seneca also knew of a Greek rhetor called Nicetes, whose floruit fell in the thirties BC. He gained such a high reputation at Rome as a declaimer that he was the only Greek whom young Romans came to hear without requiring him to hear them in turn.[90] This Nicetes probably had descendants in Smyrna, including a kinsman (grandson?) of the same name, rich and prominent and both a public orator in the traditional sense and a declaimer of the new type, with whom Philostratus begins his *Lives of the Sophists*.[91] The earlier Nicetes may have been a teaching professional whose success at Rome laid the foundations for the social and cultural distinction of his Smyrnaean descendants.

A feature of the Roman declamatory scene was the presence of Greeks whose speaking style could be classed as 'Asian'. They included the relocated Gorgias, author of a work on rhetoric of which the surviving Latin abridgement includes improving *exempla* from Hellenistic Greek orators thought of by the Romans as 'Asian'.[92] In Rome Augustus himself used to hear the 'professed Asianist' Crato, including an occasion datable to 17 BC.[93] His tolerance of this style of speaking among Greek rhetors in Rome is in some ways surprising, in the light of the oratorical tastes ascribed by Dionysius of Halicarnassus to the Augustan *dunasteuontes*. Gabba's political interpretation of Dionysius of Halicarnassus again seems relevant here. If a declaiming Crato in Rome was politically harmless, the recent use of oratory by Greek politicians to inflame opinion at civic assemblies against the Roman (or Caesarian) interest was not. Far too little is known about this side to Greek civic politics in the late republic. But the Agrippeum was built over the site of a notorious example of just such a speech, one which a few old men in Augustan Athens might have remembered hearing in their youth. A famous fragment of Posidonius describes how, in 88 BC, the Athenians crowded spontaneously into their agora to hear the philosopher–politician Athenion give an impassioned speech which won his fellow

[89] Sen. *Suas*. 2.15–16. [90] Sen. *Contr*. 9.23.

[91] Philostr. *vs* 1.19; Potamo: *PIR*² P, 914. Nicetes: *PIR*² N, 82–3. Bornecque 1967: 181–2, 192. Jones 2000: 460–2.

[92] *RE* 7.2 (1912) cols. 1604–19 s.v. Gorgias 9 (K. Münscher). Rawson 1985b: 'perhaps the last rhetorician of strong Asianic sympathies': in Rome, at any rate.

[93] Sen. *Contr*. 10.5.21; 2.4.12–13. On the episode of 17 BC see Roddaz 1984: 19–21. Bonner 1949: 40 n. 1 cites the attempt by Bornecque to date the appearance of 'public' declamation *c*. AD 10 while noting this much earlier appearance of Augustus and Agrippa at what probably was a 'public occasion, with a select audience'.

citizens over to the fateful anti-Roman alliance of Athens with Mithradates of Pontus.[94]

Imperial enjoyment of public declamation in Rome for its own sake is not incompatible with an attempt to encourage a cultural fashion which offered a socially prestigious but politically neutral outlet for the oratorical leanings of the Roman elite. On the view taken here, the imperial regime used the Agrippeum and its setting to signal its low esteem for crowd-pleasing political oratory in the prevailing 'Asian' manner and its preference for the closed environment of the odeum and fictional themes delivered in the decorous speech-register of Classical Athens. Aware that Greek notables might require some strong encouragement to take up a cultural practice associated with professional teachers, in the Agrippeum the regime provided a 'statement' or 'landmark' building, which aimed at being sufficiently prestigious, both in its architectural form and in the person of its patron (the son-in-law of the princeps), as to make socially acceptable the appearance on its low stage not only of professional rhetoricians but also of representatives of *to phronimon*: the Greek-speaking political elites.

It is not easy to gauge the specific impact of the Agrippeum on Greek cultural life. Despite the obvious importance of the building, we know the identity of just two performers there – the Antonine declaimers mentioned earlier. This ignorance cautions us against any easy positivism about developments in Greek high culture in the early principate based on the very partial sources at our disposal. The best insight into the world of Greek-imperial declamation, Philostratus' *Lives of the Sophists*, spanning the period from Nero to the Severi, depicts a highly mobile milieu in which declaimers and their pupils regularly criss-crossed the Aegean. Athens was clearly a centre, and not just under Hadrian and later: Scopelian, a pupil of Nicetes active in the late first and early second centuries, declaimed at Athens. His base was Smyrna, where his following included 'the more illustrious of the Achaeans, and all the youth of Athens'.[95] This passage is the first clear indication that the elites of old Greece had embraced the fashion for declamation. At this point it is worth scrutinising the suggestive name of another of Seneca's Greek declaimers, a certain Pammenes. Seneca describes this Pammenes as 'one of the new declaimers', probably to distinguish him from his earlier namesake, the orator who taught

[94] Athen. 5.212e–f = *FGrH* 87 F 36. See Habicht 1997a: 300–1 with 294 n. 60 on the platform for Roman officials from which Athenion spoke. Note Tac. *Dial.* 40.3 for the Roman linkage of Athenian democracy and oratory.

[95] Philostr. *VS* 1.21.

Brutus at Athens in the early fifties BC.[96] Nothing more is known about this declaimer, mentioned only once by Seneca and perhaps, therefore, considered by him as a figure of the second rank. I have not found the suggestion made elsewhere, but it must be a possibility, given the hereditary tendency of ancient eloquence, that this Pammenes was a younger kinsman of the teacher of Brutus. On the view taken here, this second Pammenes would then belong to the same, prominent, Athenian family from the deme of Marathon. Cicero's *puer*, as we have seen, became one of the leading partisans of Augustus at Athens, where he served as imperial priest on the Acropolis and eponymous archon. His younger son was Geagan's Pammenes (III), a more obscure figure, perhaps born around 25 BC, and holding office in Tiberian Athens as a sacred exegete in the tradition of family service to Athenian public religion. It is unclear whether Seneca's declaimer had visited Rome, let alone whether Seneca had heard him himself. At any rate, the Senecan Pammenes, if his family has been rightly identified, was, on the view taken here, precisely the kind of Greek whom the Agrippeum was meant to encourage to declaim publicly, and who could have been predisposed, by virtue of his family background of proven political loyalty to the princeps, to embrace a cultural fashion emanating from Rome to Greece and not the other way round. The declaimer Pammenes, if a member of the Athenian family, marks, with Potamo, an initial step in the emergence of Greek notables to declaim in public, at any rate as far as the extant evidence is concerned.[97]

Agrippa and the regime are unlikely to have considered the impact of the Agrippeum solely, or even primarily, in terms of Athens. As we have seen, the Augustan city continued to be, as a place of study, an intellectual cosmospolis. If, in hindsight, the reign of Augustus marked the start of a decline in the number of young Romans drawn to Athens for study, this decline should not be exaggerated: in the mid second century AD, Aulus Gellius could refer to the shared dinners in Athens of 'a number of us Romans who had come to Greece, and who attended the same lectures and devoted ourselves to the same teachers'.[98] Elite Romans would long continue to visit, and reside in, the city; some of them will be encountered in the pages of this book. Thomas Schäfer has rightly stressed that the

[96] So Bornecque 1967: 184–5 following Faber's emendation of '*bonis*' to '*novis*' at Sen. *Contr.* 1.4.7 (*ex novis declamatoribus*). *RE* 18.3 (1949) col. 303 Pammenes 3 (W. Kroll)). Pammenes (III): Geagan 1992: 40. As Bornecque points out, it is impossible to pass a critical judgement on the Senecan Pammenes, because the manuscripts of Seneca have not preserved his words.

[97] Pammenes (II) and (III): Geagan 1992; 1997: 30 n. 39, adding Cic. *Att.* 5.20.10; 6.2 (Cicero's concerns about Pammenes while still a *puer* in 51–50 BC). Archonship of Pammenes (II): Follet 2000: 191–2.

[98] Daly 1950: 56–8. Gell. *NA* 18.2.2.

city functioned as a kind of 'watch-tower' of the entire educated world. Developments in Athens took on an exemplary character: 'what Augustus shaped and brought to fruition here, did not remain confined to this city, but addressed itself to all Greeks' – and Romans, one might add.[99]

This imperial perspective helps to explain why the Augustan regime, in pursuing its cultural agenda in Athens, was undeterred by signs of local hostility to Rome. On the visit of Augustus to Greece in 21 BC Plutarch records that the Athenians angered the princeps after an (unspecified) 'offence' (*hexēmartēkenai ti*). From Aegina Augustus wrote a letter to the Athenians, presumably in response to an Athenian embassy. Plutarch cites this letter, in which Augustus confirmed his 'anger' and gave his itinerary as proof: he was planning – the Greek is corrupt – either to winter on Aegina (instead of Athens), or to cut short his stay on the island (and leave Greece altogether).[100] The episode has been linked with Cassius Dio's report of Augustus' administrative activity at Athens during this tour, which the historian presents as a punishment for the city's support of Antony.[101] The ancient cities of Aegina and Eretria, both allegedly tributary to Athens at the time and the former firmly attested as a recent gift from Antony, had their autonomy returned. Secondly, Augustus banned the Athenian sale of citizenship: evidently a measure to safeguard the dignity of the Athenian citizen body. As James Oliver put it: 'It is not that Augustus changed [the Athenians'] constitution; he forced them rather to respect it.'[102] On the present evidence, this interpretation seems the right one, in keeping with the 'corrective' actions of the regime in Rome itself, where Augustus sought to symbolise the return of social and political stability by an emphasis on purification of the body politic through the removal of men 'without merit' (*para tēn axian*) from the Senate.[103] Augustus did not go this far at Athens: but his measures might have hindered the naturalisation of low-status Romans residing in the city.[104]

Dio ends his account of Augustus' visit by saying that the Athenians believed that what had happened to one of the many statues of Athena on the Acropolis, one of which turned to face west and spat blood, had

[99] Schäfer 1998: 103: 'was Augustus hier gestaltete und bewirkte, blieb nicht auf diese Stadt beschränkte, sondern richtete sich an alle Griechen'.

[100] Plut. *Mor.* 207e–f. Discussion and earlier bibliography: Schmalz 1996: 389–92. On the general dating to the tour of 22–19 BC note Hoff 1989: 268.

[101] Cass. Dio 54.7.1–4; Bowersock 1964; Schmalz 1996.

[102] Schmalz 1996: 383 with n. 8 (the problem of Eretria), 388–9, 392–4 (list-making); Alston 2002: 154; Oliver 1980: 45. There appears to be no certain evidence that under Augustus the Athenian constitution became more oligarchic: Geagan 1979b: 375–6.

[103] Cass. Dio 52.42.1. Wallace-Hadrill 1993: 69.

[104] Byrne 2003b for these 'Roman Athenians'.

'portended these things' (*es tauta . . . aposkēpsai*).[105] It is not certain that Dio meant his readers to understand this portent as a sign of Athena's anger against Rome (as it is usually taken), rather than merely a sign that the city goddess – in the time-honoured manner of religious portents – foresaw the imminent 'punishment' of the Athenians at the hands of a Roman.[106] There remains the unspecified 'offence' to which Plutarch alludes. Apart from the mild sanction – whatever it was exactly – involving his stay on Aegina, Augustus took no further action against the Athenians in either word or deed (*ouden out' eipen autous out' epoiēse*). Nor did the incident prevent him from returning to Athens only two years later, possibly for a prolonged stay, as we shall see in Chapter 4.

What is also unlikely is that the leading political and priestly figures of Augustan Athens known to us from inscriptions were anything other than supporters of the Augustan regime. In the last two generations of the republic, the Athenian upper classes had continued to move closer to Rome. The old view that Sulla imposed a constitution on Athens after the First Mithradatic War has recently been thrown into doubt. Even so, after the war there seems to have been a self-imposed tightening up of the oligarchic arrangements which had already pertained before Sulla.[107] The extremely close ties of the ruling circles of Athens with members of the Roman ruling class in the age of Cicero have already been noted, along with the Lysiades, belonging to an old Athenian family and son of the Epicurean philosopher Phaedrus, who appears at Rome in 44 BC as an active Roman citizen. Cicero's rhetorical description of him as alternating the Greek cloak (Latin *pallium*) with the toga presumably reflects the fact that Lysiades would indeed have donned the formal dress of a Roman citizen when on jury service.[108] He must also have had adequate Latin, or else Cicero's polemic would have targeted an additional shortcoming of

[105] Rightly Schmalz 1996: 384 n. 10 with earlier bibliography; add Schäfer 1998: 72–4 (a 'pro-Antonian' interpretation); Whittaker 2002: 31; Kantiréa 2007: 44–5. The Loeb translation of 54.7.3 is misleading: 'the thing which had happened to the statue of Athena was responsible for this misfortune'.

[106] See *TheSCRA* 2 (2004) 463–8, section on 'L'image cultuelle manifestation de prodiges' (N. Icard-Gianolo), at 463: 'Le prodige attestait la toute-puissance de la divinité, c'était un signe des dieux, qui annonçait des événements, heureux ou redoutables, aux hommes qui savaient les interpréter'. Schmalz 1996: 386 reads the omen as *pro*-Roman: 'the turning toward Rome would mean good fortune for his (i.e. Augustus's) regime, but the spitting of blood would reflect rather on the Athenians as troubled devotees of the goddess' (on this reinterpretation note Bowersock 2005: 6). C. Habicht (pers. comm.) has questioned the historicity of the episode in the generally portent-laden text of Dio.

[107] Kallet-Marx 1995a: 213–18; Habicht 1997a: 315; Santangelo 2007: 40–5.

[108] Cic. *Phil.* 5.13–14. Rawson 1985b: 55–9 (excellent discussion); Habicht 1997b: 15; Ramsey 2005: 27–8. He appears in Byrne 2003a: Stemma VIII along with his sister Chrysothemis, an ancestress of the Claudii of Melite.

this '*Graecus*'.[109] He was such a familiar figure in senatorial circles at Rome that Cicero could claim that 'most of us know him' (*plerique novimus*).[110] What makes the toga-wearing Lysiades so striking at this date is that he was a provincial magnate, not a Greek intellectual come to Rome in search of employment.

Athenian notables will have had to negotiate a relationship with the triumvir Antony. There is no reason to think that the memory of the dead Antony retained any kind of political grip on this sort of Athenian. There is no shortage of evidence for Athenian notables welcoming the Augustan regime and taking the lead in embracing the imperial cult as a public expression of their loyalty to Augustus and his house.[111] Under Augustus they stepped up, men and women, to fill priesthoods of 'Augustus Caesar'; of 'Roma and Caesar Augustus on the Acropolis'; of Drusus, the emperor's elder stepson (9 BC); and of a triple cult of 'Hestia on the Acropolis and Livia and Julia', the daughter of Augustus (before 2 BC); and with the support of Eucles of Marathon, an ancestor of Herodes Atticus, and quite possibly on his initiative, the worship of Augustus became associated with the Athenian cult of Apollo.[112] The local elite also sponsored the public works which inserted the new gods into the physical fabric of the city.[113] Best attested is a circular monument, not a temple as such, sheltering statues of Roma and Augustus, set up facing the entrance façade of the Parthenon and on the same lengthways axis. The imperial priest named on the dedicatory inscription, Pammenes (II) son of Zeno, has already been discussed.[114] Along with the other Athenian imperial priest known by name under Augustus, Callicratidas son of Syndromus (a priest of 'Augustus Caesar'), Pammenes belonged to the Eumolpidae, one of the two priestly clans or *genē* which provided the Eleusinian priesthood. As Clinton has commented, upper-class Athenian families belonging to these venerable *genē* dominated the imperial priesthood 'from

[109] Contrast Cicero's treatment of the other Greek juror singled out, the Cretan Cydas, whose Latinity is questioned ('*num Latine scit?*'): *Phil.* 5.13.

[110] Ibid.

[111] In hindsight I was wrong to suggest 'a muted quality to the installation of emperor worship at Athens' (Spawforth 1997: 194).

[112] The basic texts are *IG* ii², 3173, 5034, 5114, 5096, *SEG* 17.218 and Graindor 1927: 157–8 (priesthood of Drusus). Eucles and the cult of Apollo: Kantiréa 2007: 172–5.

[113] The most recent studies are Kajava 2001; Lozano 2002; Whittaker 2002; Kantiréa 2007.

[114] Dedicatory inscription: *IG* ii², 3173. Whittaker 2002: 30. Camp 2001: 87 (not a temple). For the attribution of this 'temple' (Kajava 2001) to the Athenian cult of 'Hestia on the Acropolis, Livia and Julia' (Kajava 2001) see ch. 4. For the argument that it was commissioned by Augustus to commemorate the return of the Parthian standards in 21 BC (Schäfer 1998) see ch. 3.

the start' and were probably instrumental in instigating the worship of Augustus.[115]

The case of Lysiades suggests that, in its attitudes to the acquisition of Roman citizenship, the Athenian elite was essentially no different from its counterparts in other Greek cities.[116] Lysiades is a precociously early case. No local C. Iulii of political prominence are known at Augustan Athens. But it now seems that Antipater of Phlya was enfranchised by M. Agrippa, as Sean Byrne has shown. This Antipater took the initiative in proposing Athenian honours to mark the birthday of Augustus and was seven times hoplite-general in the two decades following Actium – from an Augustan viewpoint, one of Athens' 'paragons of political dependability'.[117] His request for the citizenship may have been made in person on Agrippa's visit to Athens in 16 BC.[118] In civic inscriptions, however, his Roman names are omitted, as with several descendants in the first century AD.[119] In the early principate Greek inscriptions do not always include the full *tria nomina* of Greeks with Roman citizenship. In the case of Athens under Augustus, the citizen body included descendants of supporters of the anti-Roman leadership of Athens in 88 BC, many of whom were killed when Sulla recaptured the city from a pro-Mithradatic tyrant. For long the Athenians harboured memories of this catastrophe.[120] On the other hand, the general rarity of Augustan grants of the *civitas* suggests that imperial policy, more than local attitudes, accounts for the temporary freezing of such grants in Athens, as noted in Chapter 1. At any rate, the new generosity with the Roman franchise associated by the literary sources with Claudius and Nero clearly made its mark on the Athenian elite.[121]

As Chapter 4 will show, in the late first century BC these same grandees, Pammenes (II), the imperial priest, among them, took the lead in a concerted effort to impart a new Romanity to Athenian religion. There is every reason to think, therefore, that some of these rich Athenian families would have been involved in the anonymous building projects which, as we have seen, helped to turn the Athenian agora into a classicistic 'museum' around the time of the birth of Christ. Geagan was undoubtedly right, however, to stress the likelihood that 'non-Athenian money' was also involved.[122] Outside benefaction is specifically attested in Augustan Athens. Herod the

[115] Clinton 1997: 165, 174. [116] *Pace* Spawforth 1997: 193.
[117] Byrne 2003a: 487–8 no. 4, 492; Oliver 2005; Geagan 1997: 23.
[118] I write 'request' advisedly: Agrippa is unlikely to have pressed *civitas* on a reluctant Antipater.
[119] For this phenomenon, found in the epigraphy of other Greek cities, note Oliver 2003: 144.
[120] In Plutarch's day there were still elderly Athenians who knew the exact point (the so-called Heptachalcum) where the Romans first scaled the city wall: Plut. *Sull.* 14.2.
[121] As clarified in Balzat 2011. [122] Geagan 1979b: 379.

Great is said to have made gifts to Athens. The Syrian C. Iulius Nicanor, discussed in Chapter 3, helped to fund the Athenian commemoration of the old victories over the Persians. Another possible donor was the Spartan family of C. Iulius Eurycles, well-attested benefactors in the Peloponnese and honoured publicly at Athens in successive generations from Lachares, the father of Eurycles, onward.[123] Herod in other ways showed his understanding of the cultural programme of Augustus: he also made gifts to Nicopolis, to Sparta (next section) and to Olympia, where he endowed the festival (Chapter 4); he asserted his grasp of Augustan classicism by choosing the Zeus of Phidias and the Hera of Polyclitus as models for the statues in the imperial temple at Caesarea; and he knew that victory was a key theme in the self-representation of Augustus when he displayed trophies commemorating the princeps' victories in his new theatre at Jerusalem.[124] Herod's Greek benefactions cannot be understood as a straightforward case of Hellenistic royal investment in international Hellenism as a bid for acceptance from Greek subjects and the larger Greek world. Herod may well have seen himself as acting in this tradition. But his political relation to Roman power was not that of a Ptolemy, an Attalus or a Seleucid in the second century BC (let alone the third). Augustus was the patron by whose grace the career of Herod as a Roman client ruler survived the downfall of an earlier Roman patron, Antony, whose original protégé Herod had been. Precisely under Augustus, a significant change has been detected in the 'self-representation' of eastern client rulers, whose coinage now began 'to orientate itself significantly towards the portrait of the emperor'.[125] Modern commentators are surely correct, therefore, to see Herod's benefactions as emphasising flattery of, and a desire to impress, his Roman overlords.[126]

As we shall see, Nicanor and Eurycles were no less conversant with the ideological themes of the Augustan principate. Such interventions by well-connected outsiders were also typical of the 'courtier mentality' which,

[123] Cartledge and Spawforth 2002; *SIG*³ 786 (Lachares); 787–8 (Eurycles and his son Deximachus); 790 (Spartiaticus, publicly honoured by an Athenian friend). Peloponnesian benefaction: Cartledge and Spawforth 2002: 103–4; Kantiréa 2007: 164–5 (reprinting a recently found inscription recording gifts by Spartiaticus to Messene).

[124] Joseph. *BJ* 1.425 (gifts to Greece), 1.414 (Caesarea), 15.8.1–2 (Jerusalem) with Schäfer 1998: 81–4. See Galinsky 2009 for Herod's close relationship to the cultural trends of his time.

[125] Salzmann 2007: 42. Herod's coinage (*RPC* I, 582, 678–9) is of the 'aniconic' type which 'avoided portraits of the rulers, out of regard for Jewish sentiment'; his son, the tetrarch Philip, coined with the head of Augustus from AD 1/2 (*RPC* I, 680–1).

[126] E.g. Bowersock 1965: 54–6, noting the orientation of Herod's benefactions as 'testifying to the greatness of Herod's patron'; Goodman 2008: 59 (Herod's rebuilding of Jerusalem 'in flattering imitation' of Augustus' transformation of Rome), 60 ('Herod must have wished to impress his Roman patrons').

as was argued in Chapter 1, was bound to develop in tandem with the establishment of autocracy at Rome. That the quest for imperial favour was, or could be, a compelling driver in this kind of intervention is borne out in the case of Augustan Athens by a further observation of Geagan: 'The level of building activity under Augustus [in Athens] is striking because of the contrast to the situation both before and after his rule.'[127] This is precisely what might be predicted where a significant motivating factor is to be seen to be responsive to the ruler's preferences. A new ruler with different priorities triggers new strategies for winning favour. Something similar can be observed in fluctuations in the commemoration of the old Persian victories, discussed in the next chapter.

SPARTA: THE 'COMMON DINING' (*SYSSITIA*)

Strabo attests the 'especial honour' in which the Romans held the Spartans under Augustus. Since the second century BC, if not earlier, Romans had debated the debt which their customs and institutions owed to Sparta. Rawson judged that in the late republic most Romans 'would have been able to echo such a panegyric as Cicero in the *Pro Flacco* gives to Sparta', discussed in Chapter 1.[128] That this high evaluation among educated Romans generally was shared by Augustus is shown by his decision, which must have been taken within a year or two of his victory at Actium, to award the prestigious presidency of the Actian festival at Nicopolis to 'the Spartans'. This action had the effect, and perhaps purpose, of advertising Roman esteem for Sparta to an ecumenical audience of Greek, and indeed Roman, festival-goers.[129]

Politically Augustus had good reason to favour one Spartan in particular, Eurycles son of Lachares. Sparta seems to have come under pressure to support Antony in the mid thirties, when the city's mint moved from Greek to Roman denominations, perhaps from 'involvement with the supplying of Antony's forces [...] in the years leading up to Actium'.[130] If so, Octavian will have been all the more glad of the partisan support of Eurycles and his father, Lachares. Eurycles had fought at Actium on the winning side, where his small war-galley challenged the flight of Antony's multi-decked behemoth in a 'David and Goliath' moment which Plutarch may have heard about from a descendant, the Trajanic senator C. Iulius Eurycles Herculanus. A grateful Octavian subsequently conferred on Eurycles a

[127] Geagan 1979b: 379. [128] Rawson 2002: 100. Debt: Kennell 1995: 81.
[129] Strab. 8.5.5, C365; 7.7.6, C325 (games). For a possible religious aspect, see ch. 4.
[130] Kroll 1997: 141–2.

grant of *civitas*, similar to his grant to Seleucus of Rhosus, who likewise had served in Octavian's fleet,[131] and, on the usual interpretation of passages in Strabo and the evidence of coins, an unofficial hegemony over his fellow Spartans.[132] The naval role of Eurycles is best understood as the enactment of Spartan military obligations to Rome: these also explain the presence of Spartan auxiliaries on the side of the triumvirs at Philippi in 42 BC.[133] To judge from Sicilian parallels, under such arrangements a free city, even an inland one like Sparta, could be expected to contribute naval assistance. This obligation would have required Sparta to arrive at an accommodation with Gytheum, her old port and now an autonomous neighbour. On the 'Sicilian model of Roman imperialism' proposed by Jonathan Prag, such a Roman arrangement with Sparta may have been primarily aimed at the continued policing of piracy following the major crackdowns of M. Antonius Creticus, who had used Gytheum as a base, and Pompey. The story that Antony executed Lachares, the father of Eurycles, for 'piracy' may veil a recent family history of local naval leadership within the frame of this same arrangement. Unusually for a provincial city, the Spartan obligation to provide military assistance continued into the first century AD, to judge from imperial subscripts to the Spartans from the reign of Claudius mentioning 'military affairs' (*ta stratiōtika*) and, perhaps, 'military service' (*chreia*).[134]

In ruling circles at Augustan Rome the performance of the Spartan Eurycles in the Actium campaign perhaps gave topicality to the image of military *virtus* which philhellene Romans of the late republic such as Cicero conceded to the Spartans of old. However, as with Athens, the public admiration which the Augustan regime professed for the traditional Sparta was aimed at a broad audience and cannot be understood solely, or even mainly, in terms of recent services by contemporary Sparta to the Caesarian cause. For many Romans the traditional Sparta was defined above all by *disciplina*, a militarised lifestyle linked to physical training and hardship. This *disciplina* was well known to philhellene Romans of the late republic. It was the only manifestation of Greek military discipline which Romans took

[131] Sherk 1969: no. 58 discussed by Ferrary 2005. The parallelism was seen by MacMullen 2000: 25.

[132] Cartledge and Spawforth 2002: 98–101. Coins: *RPC* I.1,247–248 nos. 1102–7.

[133] Millar 2001:10 stresses that the Greek city–state down to Actium was in a military as well as a political sense 'continuous with the Classical city–state'.

[134] For this inscription see Shipley and Spawforth 1995: esp. 432 (*SEG* 45.282). 'Sicilian model': Prag 2007, noting (80) the obligation of the inland Sicilian city of Centuripae in the age of Verres to contribute a warship. Landlocked Mantinea likewise took part in Actium on Octavian's side: Paus. 8.8.12. The account of Cartledge and Spawforth 2002: 97–8 needs refining in the light of Prag's researches. Note Plut. *Ant.* 6.3 ed. C. Pelling, who rightly saw in his commentary (286) that Lachares must have been a Spartan magnate.

remotely seriously (while insisting on the superiority of Roman practice, as in the matter of Spartan music versus Roman silence when marching into battle).[135] The practices of the Spartan *disciplina* licensed the Roman takeover of Greek gymnastics. In the first century BC the Italian and Roman use of the term *laconicum* to describe the sweat room in a Roman bath both reflected and perpetuated this association of Sparta with physical culture. Thus Agrippa is said to have given the name 'Laconian' to the baths which he built at Rome (or to a part of them) 'because the Spartans were particularly reputed at that time for stripping naked and exercising themselves with oil'.[136] In general Roman moral ambivalence about Greek gymnasia ensured that Roman bathing practices were carefully distinguished from those of the Greek gymnasium, despite the paradoxical fact that this last had a considerable influence on the architecture of Roman *thermae*. Whether or not in fact the *laconicum* derived from a distinctively Spartan bathing style, this referencing of Sparta had the reassuring effect of linking Roman baths with a 'pure' form of the Greek gymnasium.[137] Probably in the same spirit, Varro sought to give a culturally respectable etymology to the Roman *macellum*, a type of alimentary market with a distinct form in Roman architecture, by deriving it from the alleged usage of the Spartans, who in his day, so he claimed, still used this Greek-originated term to describe a vegetable market.[138]

Around 78 BC a young Cicero had personally witnessed the version of the *disciplina* still in place in the Sparta of his day. In the *Pro Flacco* he reminded his audience of citizen–jurors that it was this *disciplina* which supported the famed *virtus* of the Spartans. Livy too notes that the renown which the city of Sparta enjoyed was 'not for the magnificence of its public works, but for its *disciplina* and its institutions'.[139] As we saw at the start of this chapter, the Augustan declaimer L. Cestius Pius shows how completely educated Romans of his day identified Sparta with *arma*. Later, the elder Pliny attributed to Sparta the invention of 'the helmet, sword and spear'.[140] These military traditions did for Sparta what *paideia* did for Athens: the Romans saw both, in different ways, as the quintessence of an exemplary Hellenism. This reductiveness explains why Athens and

[135] Cic. *Tusc.* 2.37; Gell. *NA* 1.2.1–4. See Phang 2008*:* 62–3.

[136] Cass. Dio 53.27.1. Cp. Strab. 3.3.6, C154; Vitr. 5.10.5 and 11.2; Cic. *Att.* 4.10.2. The word is first found in inscriptions from Delos and Pompeii (*CIL* 1.2252; 10.829), but was not used by the Greeks themselves: Nielsen 1990.1: 158–9. Baths of Agrippa: Fagan 1999: 107–10.

[137] See the insightful discussion of Wallace-Hadrill 2008: 169–90 (183 for the quotation). There is to my knowledge no archaeological evidence for the Spartan origin of the *laconicum*.

[138] Varro *Ling. Lat.* 5.146–147; Cartledge and Spawforth 2002: 130–1.

[139] Liv. 45.27.

[140] Plin. *HN* 7.56.200.

Sparta could sometimes be more or less equated with 'Greece' in Roman and Imperial Greek literature. An example of this mode of thought is, once more, Cassius Dio, who presents Augustus' visit to mainland Greece in 21 BC as if the princeps had eyes for Sparta and Athens alone:

> He honoured the Spartans by giving them Cythera and attending their public mess, because Livia, when she fled from Italy with her husband and son, had spent some time there. But from the Athenians he took away Aegina and Eretria, from which they received tribute, because, as some say, they had espoused the cause of Antony; and he furthermore forbade them to make anyone a citizen for money . . . Augustus, now, after transacting what business he had in Greece, sailed to Samos . . . (Cass. Dio 54.7.1–4)

Dio's even more summary account of Augustus' travels in Greece in 19 BC, on his return from Syria, records only the bare fact of his visit to Athens, along with an Eleusinian initiation.[141] Again, in describing Nero's agonistic tour of Greece nearly a century later, Dio felt obliged to explain why that emperor did *not* visit Athens and Sparta (see Chapter 6).[142] For this senatorial historian of the Severan age Athens and Sparta together constituted the cynosure of 'old' Greece: if the Roman emperor bypassed them on a visit of Greece, some explanation was required.[143]

The visit of Augustus to Sparta confirms that the favour in which the regime held the city was driven by ideology and not just personal gratitude. The latter explains the gift of Cythera. Dio implies that the island, or its revenues, now became the public property of the Spartans, but Strabo comes closer to the truth in stating that Eurycles, now Augustan Sparta's overlord, held the island as a form of private property. This reality is confirmed by a Cytheran inscription which shows that Cythera remained a family fiefdom under Trajan.[144] Under the guise of a gift to the Spartan polity, Augustus rewarded his Spartan friend.[145]

[141] Cass. Dio 54.7.2, 9.10. Obviously in practice Augustus could not have visited either city without making further stops. As it happens, we know only of a visit to Megara on the way back to Brundisium in 19 BC: Suet. *Verg.* 35.

[142] Cass. Dio 63.14.3: 'He competed in the same way in every city holding a festival [. . .] except for Athens and Sparta; these alone he did not visit at all, the latter because the laws of Lycurgus were opposite to his character, the former because of the story about the Furies.' See Kennell 1988.

[143] We should expect (therefore) the original text of Dio's account of the reign of Hadrian to have included accounts of his visits, not only to Athens, but also to Sparta. In fact, the surviving abridgement of Book 69 by Xiphilinus preserves a muddled description of Hadrian and Athens; but no reference to Sparta, an ancient Greek city which perhaps held less interest for a Byzantine monk.

[144] Strab. 8.5.1; *IG* v, 1, 380; Cartledge and Spawforth 2002: 110–11.

[145] Balzat 2008: 339 noting the earlier views of G. W. Bowersock.

Dio couples with this gift of Cythera another 'honour' which Augustus paid to the Spartans: *hē sussitia*. Hermann Dessau took this expression to mean 'the (system or practice of) eating together'.[146] The correct interpretation is the one followed by more recent commentators: 'the (concrete act of) eating together'. Thus (to repeat) the Loeb translation: Augustus 'honoured the Spartans by giving them Cythera and attending their public mess'.[147] The signal honour which Augustus paid the Spartans was to express his personal admiration for their *disciplina* by taking part in one of its most famous aspects, the shared meals. It was the status of Augustus, who as princeps in practice more or less embodied the imperial state for most contemporaries, which made this private act worthy of record and, in effect, an affair of state.[148] Contemporary antiquarianism claimed that Romulus had established collective dining for the *curiae*, the primal divisions of the Roman people, from knowledge of the Spartan *phiditia*, both having in common their austerity.[149] Coming as he did from a culture which demonised feasting as luxury, it was this famed meagreness of Spartan meals which no doubt Augustus wished to experience for himself. It was something likely to interest any Roman general, since dietary austerity was also a hallmark of the traditional *disciplina militaris* which the princeps, as we saw earlier, sought to reimpose on the Roman army.[150] A century and a half later, when the emperor Hadrian in turn tried to stiffen Roman military discipline, we find him 'cheerfully eating camp fare out of doors – bacon, fat, cheese and rough wine'.[151] He too was a Roman emperor who publicly signalled his approval of the traditions of the Spartan *disciplina*, as we shall see in Chapter 6.

Independent evidence for the continued existence in imperial times of the old Spartan tradition of shared meals comes from Spartan inscriptions. The word *phidition* was often used by Classical and later authors in a Spartan context, referring either to a mess company or to the dining hall in which meals took place.[152] In the second century AD a Spartan 'president

[146] Dessau 1924–30: 2.2, 540 n. 2.

[147] Grunauer-von Hoerschelmann 1978: 68–9 n. 36 (rejecting Dessau). Compare Scott-Kilvert 1987: 161: 'He paid honour to the Spartans by giving them the island of Cythera, and attending their mess-room.'

[148] Note Fagan 1999: 109: 'Now the private actions of Augustus and those close to him became, in effect, public actions, since the government (*res publica*) was all but incarnate in his person.'

[149] Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom*. 1.60.3. Rawson 1969: 105 on the likelihood that the author himself inserted most of the Greek references in discussing the supposed legislation of Romulus.

[150] Phang 2008: 249. Roman discourse around feasting: Wallace-Hadrill 2008: 329–38.

[151] SHA *Hadr*. 10.2 (transl. A. R. Birley). On Hadrian's personal promotion of the *disciplina militaris* see Birley 1997a: 210–13.

[152] *LSJ*[2] s.v. *phidition*.

of the *pheidition*' held office in association with the city's *agoranomos*: at this time provisioning the *phidition* was evidently a civic charge. We also find *[t]ois pheideitiois* in the plural mentioned in a fragmentary Spartan text of civic character.[153] I now see that the point of Augustus taking part in a Spartan meal would have been rather lost if, as I used to think, the messes to which these inscriptions refer were merely, behind an archaising name, the standard dining arrangements for civic magistrates and their guests widespread, if not universal, in Greek cities.[154] Rather, these Roman-period *phiditia* should be tied in more specifically to the common meals of Classical times for young Spartans aged seven to nineteen.[155] Since participation in the training (*agōgē* in Greek) at Roman Sparta was limited to ephebes between 14 and 19 years old, it was presumably with youths from this age range that Augustus shared a meal. This late revival of the austere ancestral diet fits perfectly well with what else we know of the practices of the Roman-period upbringing. In the years around AD 100 Dio of Prusa claimed that 'even now the Spartans are whipped, live out of doors, go naked, and endure much other treatment which would seem harsh to anyone else'.[156] There can be little doubt either, in view of the concern of the Augustan regime for the moral education of the Roman youth, that Augustus was signalling imperial approval, not only for the martial traditions of the Spartans of old, but also for the continuing educational value of the Spartan training in the Roman present. This interpretation is confirmed by developments under Hadrian, who not only held (*in absentia*) the Spartan office of eponymous *patronomos*, the titular overseer of the Roman-period training, but also specifically recommended 'Spartan discipline (*askēsis*)' as a model when the city of Cyrene was rebuilding its ephebic training following the Jewish uprising under Trajan (Chapter 6).

In general, the Roman imprint on the Spartan training of the late republic and principate is marked. It was the Romans who gave permission for its revival after the Achaean general Philopoemen suppressed the laws and customs of Lycurgus and imposed Achaean institutions on the Spartans in 188 BC. Plutarch states that at a later date the Romans permitted the Spartans to revive a version of their ancestral constitution, 'as far as was possible after so many misfortunes and such degradation'. Rome appears here clearly, and for the first time, as the patron of the *disciplina*. Plutarch's passage implies that this revival only occurred after a lapse of time; he passes

[153] *IG* v, 1, 128, line 13; cp. 150, line 1.
[154] Cartledge and Spawforth 2002: 199–200. Note the local *phiditia* mentioned in the Gytheate *lex sacra* of AD 15: Oliver 1989: no. 15, lines 30–2.
[155] Ducat 2006: 81–5. [156] Dio Chrys. 25.3.

over its exact date, of which perhaps he was ignorant. Since the Spartan ephebes were obliged to follow an Achaean regimen while their city was a member of the Achaean League, the revival ought to follow, rather than precede, Sparta's secession from the League in 148 BC. An objection to this dating has recently been raised: after the Roman settlement of Greece in 146/5 BC, Sparta, now a 'free' city, would not have needed Roman permission to revive its ancestral training. Maybe; but the Spartans will surely have preferred to defer to Rome in this matter to avoid any misunderstanding. After all, the Romans saw the *disciplina* as the underpinning of their former martial prowess.[157] That permission was given shows how far the Romans were from believing that they had anything to fear from the weakened state of late-hellenistic Sparta. As with the Roman celebration of that other ideal of Greekness, Classical Athens, present-day powerlessness – the 'weakened name of Greece' in Cicero's formulation – licensed Roman admiration for the Sparta of old.[158] As for the actual date, the first hard evidence for the revival comes from the years around 78 BC, when Cicero saw with his own eyes some of the ephebic contests on a visit to Sparta. Since Spartan educational conservatism must have been a major factor in the revival of the training, an earlier dating for the revival seems likely, perhaps not long after the settlement of 146 BC.[159]

There is continuing modern debate as to how far this Spartan training of Roman times recreated the public upbringing of Classical Sparta. The military overtones detectable in the team contests of the ball-players and the rough form of team combat on Plane Tree Island (Platanistas) may have had ancient roots; so for sure did the notorious whipping known to Dio of Prusa. In its Roman form, however, this has been conclusively shown to have undergone a transformation from a contest in which young Spartans played an active role as snatchers of cheeses guarded by whip-bearers to one in which they were whipped passively in heats, the palm going to the ephebe who endured the longest.[160] There is disagreement over the date of this reconstruction as a violent spectacle. The usual view is that we are looking at something Roman. A recent alternative, that the passive whipping was a mid-Hellenistic creation, rests on a contested dating of a key source

[157] Cp. Liv. 38.34.9: 'nothing did that people [the Spartans] so much harm as the abrogation of the discipline of Lycurgus [by the Achaeans]'.
[158] Cic. *Flac*. 62.
[159] Key references: Plut. *Cleom*. 11.4; Liv. 38.34.1–3,9; Paus. 8.51.3; Plut. *Philop*. 16.9. Cartledge and Spawforth 2002: 198; Kennell 1995: ch. 1; Ducat 2006: xi (siding with earlier scholars dating this revival to 184/3 or 179/8 BC); Kennell 2008, restating his view *contra* (rightly in my opinion).
[160] Kennell 1995: 70–83; Ducat 2006: 252. Military overtones: Crowther 2004: 368, 353.

and is not followed here.[161] If the reconstruction was indeed Roman, it is something of a puzzle to imagine it as part of the initial revival taking place not long after 146 BC, since this would have been informed by the memories of old men who as youngsters had passed through the Lycurgan training abolished in 188 BC; they would would have remembered something rather different, more akin to the 'active' contest which Xenophon reflects. Among recent commentators, Vinciane Pirenne-Delforge is surely closer to the truth in seeing here 'an Imperial reconstruction . . . in accordance with Roman sensibility. The violence displayed in this context had the flavour of antiquity and was in accordance with the taste for spectacular shows.' She draws a telling analogy with the *holokautos*, the sacrificial burning alive of wild animals in the cult of Artemis Laphria at Patrae. In the words of Pausanias, who witnessed one of these sacrifices:

> They throw game birds alive onto the altar and all the other victims in the same way, even wild boars and deer and gazelles, and some of them throw on wolf-cubs and bear-cubs and others fully grown beasts, and they heap the altar with fruit from orchard trees. After this they set fire to the logs. At this point I saw a bear and other beasts forced out by the first leap of the flames or escaping at full strength; but those who threw them in bring them back again to the funeral fire. They have no record of anyone being injured by the animals. (Paus. 7.18.7 transl. P. Levi)

The last observation suggests that, confronted by this sight, Pausanias was involuntarily put in mind of the kind of Roman wild-beast show (*venatio*) in which human fighters (*bestiarii*) were pitted against wild beasts, when the entertainment in part hinged on the prospect of human casualties. The rite which he describes is thought to be an Augustan reconstruction arising from the transfer of the cult of Artemis Laphria from Aetolian Calydon to the Augustan veteran colony of Patrae: 'something not entirely Greek or strictly Roman but an innovative experience remodelled on different traditions'.[162] The Roman feel of the Spartan spectacle similarly arises from the helplessness of the young Spartans, the bloodshed and at least the threat, if rarely the actuality, of death. It is not entirely clear from Cicero's account whether the contest had already evolved into its most developed form in the seventies BC: he knew of fatalities only from hearsay, and compared the inflicting of blows on Spartan boys with the pounding of young contestants at Olympia, where he must have had in mind the rough

[161] Kennell 1995: 111; *contra* Ducat 2006: 29–34. Traditional view: e.g. Woodward 1929: 289; Roussel 1939: 47.

[162] Pirenne-Delforge 2006: 123. On Pausanias and Artemis Laphria note too the excellent discussion of Goldhill 2006: 135–48, stressing the Romanity of the local context framing the *holokautos*.

contact sports like boxing or the pancration.[163] Unambiguous evidence for Roman colouring is first found precisely under Augustus in Hyginus, the writer of Latin fables whom most scholars nowadays identify with C. Iulius Hyginus, the freedman–librarian of Augustus:

> Upon obtaining an oracle because he had lost his sister, [Orestes] had sought Colchis with his friend Pylades and, following the killing of Thoas, made off with the image, hidden in a bundle of wood . . . and brought it to Aricia. But since the cult's cruelty subsequently displeased the Romans, although slaves were sacrificed, Diana was transferred to the Spartans, where the custom of sacrifice was maintained in the whipping of the youths, who were called Bomonicae because they contended, placed above the altar, as to who could endure more blows. (Hyg. *Fab*. 261 transl. N. Kennell)[164]

This interest of Hyginus in a Roman aetiology for the Spartan whipping chimes with various Augustus themes. Like Orestes, the princeps also avenged the death of his father: a mythical analogy also made, it seems, by the city of Argos.[165] Diana was the sister of the tutelary god of the princeps, Apollo, recipient of a splendid new temple complex on the Palatine. Aricia, finally, had a topicality as the birthplace of Atia, the mother of Augustus, who was honoured elsewhere in Augustan Greece.[166] The passage is the earliest attestation of the title 'altar-victor' (*bomonices*) subsequently found in Spartan inscriptions of the later second and third centuries AD.[167] Antiquarian debates about Spartan origins for Roman institutions continued under Augustus, as already seen: here, interestingly, the influence is explicitly claimed as going in the reverse direction, so that Spartan Orthia and her bloody rituals become a junior branch of the Roman cult of Diana. It may be that Hyginus deployed first-hand knowledge, perhaps as a member of the entourage of Augustus in 21 BC, of new developments of his time. Sparta under Eurycles unsurprisingly displayed a marked alignment with themes in Augustan ideology: the commemoration of the Persian Wars, the restoration of cults, and urbanism, all explored in later chapters. The honour which Augustus paid to the Spartan educational tradition in 21 BC

[163] Cic. *Tusc*. 2.34 and 46 (. . . *cum pueros Lacedaemone, adulescentis Olympiae . . . videris excipientis gravissimas plagas et ferentis silentio*); 5.77.

[164] Kennell 1995: 148–9.

[165] Kantiréa 2007: 105 commenting on Paus. 2.17.3 (a statue of Orestes in the Argive Heraeum reinscribed for Augustus).

[166] Kennell 1995: 80–1; Galinsky 1996: 213–24; Suet. *Aug*. 4.1 (Atia). For the Corinthian tribe 'Atia': *Corinth* 8.2. *Latin Inscriptions* no. 86. This application of an *interpretatio Romana* to a Spartan cult of Artemis is obviously a somewhat different phenomenon from the recourse of Roman colonies in imperial times to the ritual model of Diana on the Aventine, for which see Beard, North and Price 1998 I: 330; II: 239–42; Goldhill 2006: 140–1.

[167] Woodward 1929: 346–61 nos. 142–6.

itself makes nonsense of any suggestion that Eurycles – no doubt the Spartan host of the princeps on this occasion – was hostile to Sparta's cultural institutions.[168] As it happens, as yet he cannot be directly linked with the revived training of Roman Sparta, although his descendants include holders of the eponymous patronomate (the magistracy which oversaw the training), as well as at least one former ephebe, and a 'president of the *phidition*'.[169]

If one were to seek an Augustan author for the conferment of a new character to the Spartan whipping more 'in accordance with Roman sensibility', Eurycles and his local allies are obvious candidates. The same Ciceronian passage also suggests a precise reason for such a change. For the Spartan training to live up to its exemplarity in Roman eyes, it needed, rather than being merely comparable with the rough and tumble of Greek contact sports, some feature both extreme and incomparable. A further evolution of the whipping into a totally passive test of endurance, in which the boys 'present their backs to be whipped', could then be a response to the Augustan imposition of this burden of cultural embodiment on the Sparta of Eurycles.[170] Finally, it is possible that the engagement of Sparta in 'cultural work' at the start of the principate prompted the context for the lost history of Sparta penned by Aristocrates son of Hipparchus, a Spartan writer of the first century AD who covered the traditional aspects of Spartan life, since he was used by Plutarch for his life of Lycurgus.[171]

The reason for the enmity between Eurycles and the descendant of Brasidas is not known. It needs emphasis that Eurycles also had his supporters among the leading families of Augustan Sparta, where receptivity to Augustan ideas did not depend solely on the obligations of Eurycles to his imperial patron. A snapshot of the Spartan elite around the time of the visit of Augustus is preserved in a Spartan inscription dated to the patronomate of Aristocratidas and cataloguing the membership of the annual board of

[168] *Pace* Kennell 1995: 82: a small point of disagreement with the authoritative modern work on the revived training of Roman Sparta.

[169] *RP* 2 LAC 462. Note too the ephebe C. Iulius Eurycles (second century AD), perhaps of freedman stock (LAC 460), apparently the same C. I. Eurycles who appears as 'president of the *pheidition*' in an unpublished Spartan inscription now at Mistra: http://lespierresquiparlent.free.fr/enigmeMistra.html (visited 14 August 2010). I am grateful to Jean-Sébastien Balzat for this reference.

[170] Ducat 2006: 251–2 (quotation).

[171] *FGrH* 591. Cartledge and Spawforth 2002: 177. At Sparta the names 'Hipparchus', 'Aristocrates' and 'Brasidas' are all found in combination with the names 'Ti. Claudius': *RP* 2 LAC 261–2, 274–7, 301. Conceivably they all belonged to the same patrilinear family, on which Claudius or Nero bestowed the *civitas*. The idea that the historian 'Aristocrates' and the declaimer 'Nicocrates', of whom more in ch. 3, can be identified should be firmly discounted (*FGrH* 591 commentary).

Spartan *hierothytai*, civic sacrificers, and their attendant personnel, including seventeen young children (*paidia*), both boys and girls, perhaps forming a mixed choir.[172] The inscription stresses the familial, not to say dynastic, aspect by listing siblings together (lines 12–13; 16–17, 18–19, 24–25). At one point (lines 16–19) it groups two pairs of (likely) first cousins: the children of Eurycles himself, Rhadamanthys and Deximachus, are inscribed immediately before Deximachus and Sidectas, children of Pratolaus, who was the close kinsman – brother-in-law? – of Eurycles.[173] Where they can be identified, these children belonged to leading local families: apart from the lineage of Eurycles, the Pratolaus family is well known; so are the families of the brother and sister Callicratea and Aristocles, children of Callicrates son of Aristocles, one of the *hierothytai*, with prominent descendants in the second century AD (lines 12–13),[174] and of the brothers Lysinicus and Gorgippidas (lines 24–25). This foregrounding in a public, civic, context of the young children of leading families looks like a clear example of the 'aristocratising' tendencies of Greek civic elites in the first century BC noted in Chapter 1. At Sparta, precisely in this period, an even clearer example is found in an inscribed list of sacred banqueters in a cult of the Dioscuri which includes, apparently for no other reason than kinship, three close relations of the priestly couple, one of them a minor; all three were members of the Pratolaus family just mentioned.[175]

Returning to the catalogue of *hierothytai*, other Spartans named here, besides Eurycles himself, can be implicated in a moral outlook shared with the Augustan regime. In old age the hereditary seer (*mantis*) Alcibia (line 5), member of an ancient mantic lineage at Sparta, received an honorific statue from the city of Sparta in recognition of 'her blameless sixty years of married life with her husband Damippus son of Aboletus'.[176] The 'norm or ideal of cooperation between husband and wife' was an old one in Greece, famously to be found in the treatise on household management by Xenophon.[177] That said, this public praise for the marital comportment of a citizen wife is something quite new at Sparta. It reflects the same change in the

[172] Calame 1997: 25 for mixed choirs in Classical Greece, although not previously attested for Sparta, it seems: Hupfloher 2000: 46–9: 'striking' ('auffällig') of the mixed sexes. See ch. 4 on the rites of the *hierothytai*.

[173] *IG* v, 1, 141; Spawforth 1985: 195, correcting Kolbe's reconstruction of the layout of the stone; Balzat and Spawforth 2010: 184–6 for the restoration of lines 24–25 and identification of the family.

[174] Note the Antonine *patronomos* Callicrates, son of Callicrates, grandson of Aristocles: *IG* v.1.71 col. 2 lines 1–3.

[175] *IG* v, 1, 209, lines 2–5 and 11 with Spawforth 1985: 195–7, suggesting a date *c.* AD 1–10.

[176] *IG* v, 1, 578.

[177] Xen. *Oec.* 9.16–19. See Foxhall 1989: 22–44. I am grateful to Stephen Lambert for drawing this point to my attention.

local position of elite women as a recently published sculptural portrait of a 'maiden' from the Spartan elite, who is depicted in the 'metropolitan Roman fashion' of the Augustan era. This bust belongs to a time when the male monopoly on the privilege of portraiture in the east was starting to break down, and in this particular case the 'Italianising' style underscores the western stimulus behind this increasing social prominence accorded to Spartan elite women.[178] As for Alcibia, were she a citizen wife in Augustan Rome, she would surely have worn the *stola*, that symbol of incorruptible wifely virtue. These public honours were probably prompted by local knowledge of Augustan social and moral legislation, rather than being simply a coincidental chiming of Spartan and Augustan values. It is an undoubted fact that public praise for the domestic virtues of elite women is a marked feature of the honorific epigraphy of Sparta under the principate. Not only that, but in the second and third centuries AD we have evidence that wives of Spartan notables with Roman citizenship sometimes petitioned successfully for the *ius (trium) liberorum*. This was the legal privilege accorded to Roman mothers under the terms of the Augustan legislation as a reward for bearing three or more children. Although Pliny's correspondence with Trajan shows that by that date the privilege could be conferred as a favour without meeting the qualifications, in two of the Spartan cases it can be shown that the mothers in question did indeed meet the legal requirements by bearing three children or more. At Sparta possession of this *ius* was considered highly honorific: it is recorded prominently in the public honours for the women concerned, undoubtedly because it was a prime illustration of the 'excellence in the married women's sphere' (*en gunaixin*) which, broadly speaking, these honours celebrated.[179] At Roman Sparta, I suggest, and this was demonstrably true of other *poleis* in the Peloponnese as we shall see, the Augustan emphasis on family values and female virtue appealed to the naturally conservative stratum of leading 'houses' (*oikoi*), whose moral outlook was undoubtedly closer to that of the Italian municipalities, the world from which Livy came, than to that of the super-rich Roman aristocracy whose immorality the Augustan regime

[178] Raftopoulou 2010: 194 (quotation). The identification of the subject of the portrait as a Spartan is not entirely certain, although Raftopoulou is unable to find a close parallel e.g. with the female portraits of the Julian house. Her suggestion (194–5) that the subject was associated with a Spartan family possessing Roman citizenship (the Euryclids?) is attractive.

[179] Memmia Xenocratia: *IG* v, 1, 586 (*ius* recorded immediately after her name). Other Spartan examples of *en tais gunaixin*: *IG* v, 1, 590, 587; of the *ius liberorum*: 597 and 608 (both for Claudia Damosthenea); 96.4–5. Spawforth 1985: 207–8, 234–5; Cartledge and Spawforth 2002: 200–1. On the *ius* and its social and practical benefits: Dixon 1988: esp. 88–91.

publicly rejected.[180] With a duration of sixty years, the union of Alcibia and Damippus outlasted that of Augustus and Livia (fifty-four years), a point unlikely to have been lost on the Spartans, who at some point had instigated a festival for Livia in her own right. Livia's own relationship with Sparta was close: the Spartans belonged to the *clientela* of her family, the patrician Claudii, and she and her first husband, also a Claudius, had found refuge there during the Perusine War, a service which contributed to the high favour of Sparta under the first princeps. In the climate of local opinion as I reconstruct it here, Spartan honours for Livia may well have sought to pay tribute, not only to the most powerful woman in the world, but also to an exemplar of womanly excellence.[181]

Still with the same catalogue, piety and matronly propriety recur, along with demonstrable Roman sympathies, within the family of the children Lysinicus and Gorgippidas, sons of Lysinicus (lines 24–25). The father was probably the Lysinicus son of Soteridas on whom the Spartans conferred a hereditary priesthood of a Spartan cult of the Dioscuri.[182] In old age the *merita* of his two sons won them Roman citizenship, sometime between AD 35 and 44. In the next generation the daughter of P. Memmius Lysinicus, one Damosthenea, received a public statue on Delos as an *athlon eutaxias*, 'a prize for her seemly deportment' as the wife of a prominent Athenian and priest of Delian Apollo, Ti. Claudius Novius, whose involvement in the commemoration of the Persian Wars is discussed in Chapter 3. There are good grounds for thinking that Novius was probably her second husband and that the first was none other than Zeno (V) of Marathon, elder son of Pammenes (II), the priest of Augustus and Roma on the Acropolis, from a family already encountered more than once in these pages. She would thus have been, at one time in her life, a sister-in-law of Pammenes (III), one of the 'new declaimers' (as suggested earlier) of late Augustan and Tiberian Rome.[183] This connectedness of the elites of Augustan Athens and Sparta, not just with each other but also with the cultural scene of the capital, is suggested too by another name in our catalogue, that of the Spartan father, a certain Nicocrates, whose daughter is listed immediately before the children of Eurycles (line 15). We may have here the elder Seneca's *Nicocrates Lacedaemonius*, a declaimer, of whom more in the next chapter.

[180] See Smith 1998: 70 on the 'core values of the attractive, but disciplined, modest, and restrained, mother, wife, and daughter' expressed in the statue costumes of women of the eastern elites.

[181] *SEG* 11.830 (Livia festival). Livia and Sparta: Suet. *Tib*. 6.2; Cass. Dio 38.15; 54.7.2. Marchetti 2001a: 150, rightly in my view, apropos these and other 'declarations of respectability of the ladies of the provincial oligarchy', sees 'ce perfum de vertu' originating in Rome.

[182] *SEG* 11.679. Balzat and Spawforth 2010: 185–6.

[183] Balzat and Spawforth 2010: 187–90 for Damosthenea and her (?) two Athenian marriages.

Apart from Eurycles himself, in Spartan epigraphy it is his younger kinsman (probably a nephew), Deximachus son of Pratolaus (line 18), who is revealed by another inscription as having the most explicit connection with the Augustan regime. This inscription, now lost, originally accompanied a civic statue of its honorand, Marcus Agrippa. The text is bilingual and marks the first appearance of Latin in the epigraphy of Roman Sparta. It is a reasonable assumption that these honours were occasioned by the prospect of a visit by Agrippa in person in 16 BC or thereabouts, during his tour of the east. His imminent arrival probably also occasioned the Spartan coins minted in his honour. That these honours for Agrippa were orchestrated by Eurycles himself is shown by the identity of the donor of this statue, the *paidion* Deximachus son of Pratolaus. He reappears now as C. Iulius Deximachus: a Roman citizen enrolled in the Fabian tribe to which belonged both Augustus and his protégé, the Spartan Eurycles, who no doubt had brokered the grant of Roman citizenship for the young heir to a Spartan family of close political allies. The hand of Eurycles is suggested too from the very fact that Deximachus had set up this statue in his capacity as leader (*princeps* in the Latin text) of the so-called 'Agrippiastae', a local association obviously formed with the essentially political purpose of honouring Augustus' son-in-law.[184] As a *paidion* around 20 BC, this Deximachus must have been at most a young man of around twenty when he served as leader of the Agrippiastae in 16 BC, and perhaps still a teenager. The Agrippiastae, then, were a youth association. Eurycles, the likely orchestrator of these honours, must have seen this character of youthfulness as a way of pleasing Agrippa, and this in turn can only have been because the Spartan was well aware of Augustus' close interest, already noted (Chapter 1), in the moral formation of the elite youth of Rome and, indeed, of Sparta, shown by his sharing in the common meals on his visit six years earlier.[185] It is not

[184] *CIL* 3.494 = *IG* v, 1, 374; Spawforth 1985: 196. The restoration of the tribus in the lacuna between the *nomen* and *cognomen* gives the order *praenomen* + *nomen* + *tribus* + *cognomen* + filiation. This onomastic formula in Greek inscriptions is by no means unparalleled: e.g. Forni 1999: 387 no. 917 (Aspendus); 411 no. 1095 (Thrace); 412 no. 1104 (Ephesus); 721 no. 711 (Emesa, AD 78/9). Roddaz 1984: 446. For other refs. see *RP* 2, LAC 456 (although the restoration of *IG* v, 1, 374 suggested there is epigraphically impossible).

[185] See too Yavetz 1984: 16–20; Ginestet 1991: esp. 90–2; *OCD*[3] s.v. *iuvenes* (J. P. Balsdon and B. Levick). A son of Eurycles, rather than a kinsman (by marriage?), might seem a more natural choice for this quasi-dynastic role of leader of the Agrippiastae. The answer undoubtedly has to do with the complicated family history of Eurycles, hinted at by the disappearance from the evidence of both Rhadamanthys and his brother Deximachus, who reappears with Roman citizenship (confusingly, a second 'C. Iulius Deximachus') as the recipient of Athenian honours, alongside his father, whose heir he perhaps was at this time (*SIG*[3] 788). The eventual heir of Eurycles was C. Iulius Laco, in all likelihood a son by another marriage and quite possibly a good deal younger than his (?half-)brothers Rhadamanthys and Deximachus, who seem to have both died young.

hard to imagine a select corps of well-born ephebes or young men – some of them, like Deximachus, perhaps former *paidia* – being formed into the Agrippiastae, nor the sort of military-style exercises which they might have performed before Sparta's imperial visitor, based on the *disciplina* and deliberately echoing the parades of the Augustan *iuventus*. The fact that their leader was that extreme rarity at this date, a well-born Greek with Roman citizenship who operated bilingually in Latin as well as Greek, underscores the assertive homage of this whole little episode to Augustan ideology.

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This chapter has argued that Agrippa funded the Agrippeum specifically to promote the 'Attic' definition of good taste which Dionysius of Halicarnassus ascribes to the rulers of Augustan Rome. The building, that is, was intended for Atticising performances in declamation, and in literary production more broadly, for an audience made up of Romans and educated Greeks with links to the cultural scene of the capital and larger Mediterranean networks. The generally Classical, and specifically martial, atmosphere of this particular locale recalled the virility of Classical Athens and the ancient victories entitling the Athenians of those days to *bellica laus*. At Sparta Augustus advertised his admiration for the Spartan *disciplina*; a local reconstruction of the whipping more in keeping with Roman taste may date to his reign. To reiterate and develop a point already made (Chapter 1), the local elites of Athens, Sparta and the other *poleis* of old Greece were not required to make a huge leap of cultural faith in orientating themselves towards these ideological themes. Religious piety (*eusebeia*) and respect for ancestral custom, not least where it shaped the education of the young, were deeply rooted in the traditional values of the *polis* as well as at Rome. It was this convergence of view, at least at the level of the educated elites, which underlay the renewed vitality of some traditional aspects of Greek cultural life under Roman rule.

In the case of the whipping, the willingness of generation after generation of leading Spartan families in imperial times to submit their sons to a painful, and occasionally fatal, test of endurance is inexplicable unless one assumes that this event was validated by, and enacted important truths for, the society of the time. Perhaps it had also taken on, for participants as well as spectators, something of the cruel glamour of the Roman amphitheatre. Sparta was no backwater under Augustus or, indeed, at any time in the principate. Educated Greeks and Romans flocked to witness the spectacle.[186]

[186] Tourism at Roman Sparta: Cartledge and Spawforth 2002: 207–11.

The Spartan youths who passed through the training were, in increasing numbers, themselves Roman citizens, including ephebes of high status such as Eurycles Herculanus, the future senator.[187] Because the epigraphy of the Roman-period training did not take the form of lists of ephebes, as in Athens and some other Greek cities, foreign ephebes at Roman Sparta have so far been hard to identify. They may never have been that many. But their existence, and their social calibre, is shown by the two clear instances from a century or so later, a father and son from the same Athenian family, both future Roman consuls: Atticus, the father of the famous sophist, and the sophist himself.[188]

The fact that two generations of this Athenian family passed through the Spartan training points to a laconism which goes beyond mere expediency (that is, the fact, in the father's case, that he may have spent part of his youth in exile at Sparta).[189] It goes without saying that this was a family the journey of which to the highest Roman honours, attained when Herodes Atticus reached an ordinary consulship in AD 143, cannot be thought of as effortless, especially since, after achieving real prominence over three generations in the later first century BC and the reign of Tiberius, the family suffered 'a relative effacement from Caligula to Vespasian'.[190] The strategy adopted by the family under the Flavians seems to have been consciously to offer itself as the living embodiment of *Graecia vera*, the Classical Greece of the Roman imagination. The family paraded descent from the Athenian generals Miltiades and Cimon, both distinguished generals in the Greek struggle against Persia, as Philostratus points out when detailing this ancestry.[191] With Herodes, it scaled the peaks of Attic *eloquentia*. Both father and son were products of the Spartan *disciplina*. Part of this same strategy appears to be the repeated use of the *cognomen* Atticus, which Herodes also bestowed on a son, Bradua Atticus. Emmanuelle Valette-Cagnac has recently argued for a distinctly Roman signification for this *cognomen*, one that is first identifiable in Cicero's friend T. Pomponius Atticus, a highly cultivated Roman resident in the Athens of the late republic, for whom it designated, 'not a Roman gone Greek but a Roman who, by his usage of the Greek language and culture, knows how to distinguish himself among both Romans and Greeks. The *cognomen* signals,

[187] Note the case of the Pratolaus family, descendants of close kin of Eurycles, producing under the principate five *bouagoi* (leaders of subdivisions within the training) and eleven *patronomoi*: Cartledge and Spawforth 2002: 211.

[188] Cartledge and Spawforth 2002: 113. For the suffect consulship of the father, now dated to AD 133 and not, as used to be thought, to Trajan's reign, see Eck, Holder and Pangerl 2010: 193–5.

[189] Spawforth 1980: 205. [190] As Follet 2007 has clearly demonstrated.

[191] Philostr. *VS* 2.546.

not "Greek", but an ideal Roman, an individual who has found in Greece the means to surpass and astonish all his contemporaries.' Valette-Cagnac argues for a symmetry between Atticus and Herodes, a Greek who made as prestigious a career in Athens as in Rome, and who signalled himself as 'Atticus' by qualities both properly Roman (*gravitas*, consular honours) and Greek, including eloquence.[192] Rather like the statues by Roman sculptors combining the styles of more than one Classical master, the Roman ideal of the living *Graecus* was a hybrid, one distilling the essences of both Classical Athens and Classical Sparta. A desire to breed this hybrid in the biological sense could even be read into the instances of elite-level intermarriage between the two Roman cities, discussed in the next chapter and involving, indeed, the family of Herodes.

Augustan Sparta was different from other cities in Greece to the extent that the local overlord, for as long as he remained in favour, was particularly close to the princeps. There are other signs, examined later on, that this political position, as with Herod of Judaea, made him finely attuned to the thinking of the regime in Rome. Indeed the client rulers of the Roman east, among whom both are to be counted, can be seen as forming a coherent group based in part on their proximity to, and understanding of, the centre of power, in turn facilitating their role as local brokers for its ideology. As already noted, Herod included among his beneficiaries not only Athens but also Sparta, which he too no doubt visited in person. In an obscure episode, we find Eurycles touring the Roman near east in the years before 7 BC, visiting Herod as well as Archelaus of Cappadocia.[193] It comes as no surprise to find these client rulers acting in unison precisely in Athens, where they are said to have planned to combine forces so as to complete the unfinished temple of Olympian Zeus and then dedicate it to the *Genius* of Augustus.[194] Modern scholarship relates this project to another theme in the ideology of the Augustan principate, one intimately linked with, once more, Athens and Sparta, and so far only touched upon: the commemoration of the Persian Wars, subject of the next chapter.

[192] Valette-Cagnac 2005: 71–4 with n. 112.

[193] Cartledge and Spawforth 2002: 100–1. The main ancient refs. are Joseph. *BJ* 1.425, 513–531; *AJ* 300–310.

[194] Suet. *Aug.* 60: *reges amici atque socii . . . cuncti simul aedem Iovis Olympii Athenis antiquitus incohatam perficere communi consumptu destinaverunt Genioque eius dedicare*. 'Friendly and allied kings . . . at the same time decided to join in completing at their shared expense the temple of Olympian Jupiter at Athens, for a long time unfinished, and in dedicating it to the *Genius* of Augustus.' Schäfer 1998: 68–9; Kantiréa 2007: 104–9.

CHAPTER 3

'The noblest actions of the Greeks'[1]

ROMAN VIEWS

If the Agrippeum was intended to provide a prestigious showcase for the Attic muse, including the new medium of public declamation, an art form to be applied *inter alia* to the celebration of old Greek victories, this purpose only makes sense in a climate of marked Roman interest in ancient Greek wars. Augustan ideology fostered just such a climate. Research over the last quarter-century has shown that Augustus and his regime were acutely aware of the historical parallelism between contemporary threats from the east and the struggle between Classical Greece and 'barbarian' Persia. This parallelism made available for imperial use a rich stock of prestigious images themed around the idea of the defence of (Greek) civilisation against the forces of barbarism. Roman artists first brought this imagery into play soon after Actium. Tonio Hölscher has argued that behind a scattered group of Roman reliefs are two lost prototypes – perhaps a pair – put on display in early-Augustan Rome. These referenced the Greek naval victory at Salamis in 480 BC by means of Athena and her snake, a trophy of captured arms including a *pelta* or half-moon shield of eastern type, a winged Victory holding the curved poop of a ship, and a warrior of Classical type, bearded and wearing a Corinthian helmet. These lost originals were clearly well known, since they inspired variant versions as far afield as Beirut – the Syrian region being home to provincial grandees closely attuned to Augustan values, as the case of C. Iulius Nicanor, of Hierapolis Bambyce, will show (below). The fame of these originals reflected the 'high ideological significance' of their subject matter: Salamis was a metaphor for Actium, the seminal victory on which the Augustan principate was founded and which Augustus now used to portray himself as the champion of civilisation against eastern barbarians.[2]

[1] Plut. *Arist.-Cato*, synkrisis 5.1.
[2] Hölscher 1984: esp. 187–203; Bowersock 1984: 175; Zanker 1988: 84.

The regime returned to this parallelism in 20 BC when Augustus visited the province of Syria to negotiate the return of the standards and Roman prisoners captured in the Parthian defeat of Crassus in 53 BC. As part of his propagandistic presentation of this diplomatic settlement as a victory for Roman arms, Augustus commissioned two identical monuments of an unmistakable Romanity, despite their incorporation of victory tripods in the manner of the famous thanks-offering which the Greeks dedicated at Delphi after the decisive victory at Plataea. Pausanias saw one of these monuments in the Olympieum at Athens: 'There are some Persians in Phrygian stone holding up a tripod: the Persians and the tripod are both worth seeing.'[3] Rolf Schneider has identified the three supporting barbarians from the second monument in two figures now in Naples and a third in Copenhagen. Even without the outsize tripod which they originally supported, these figures have a spectacular quality achieved by their colossal size – although kneeling they are over 1.5 metres high without the tripod – and by the material, so-called 'Phrygian marble', a polychrome stone from Asia Minor employed by Roman sculptors to symbolise the eastern provenance of the barbarians themselves. Schneider argues that the original monument to which these scattered figures once belonged – second of the pair – was set up by Augustus in his new temple complex of Apollo on the Palatine: 'not only a unique showcase for the political and religious self-representation of the imperial regime inaugurated with Augustus but equally also one of the most important centres of Augustan Rome'.[4] If Schneider is right, the choice of the Olympieum in provincial Athens as a pendant for this prestigious locale in the capital underscores the importance of Athens for Augustus as the main locus, since Alexander's day, for the commemoration of the Greek struggle against eastern barbarism. As we shall see, Sparta had similar associations; so did Plataea. The difference was that, in choosing Athens, the regime exploited the traditional character of the city as a 'beacon' in order to beam its ideology to the broadest eastern audience.

The third moment of high importance for this official parallelism was the dedication of the Forum of Augustus and its centrepiece, the temple of Mars Ultor, in 2 BC. As part of the celebrations Augustus staged a

[3] Paus. 1.18.7.

[4] Schneider 1986: 82. My earlier view (Spawforth 1994a: 239), that the Olympieum tripod monument was a dedication by Hadrian, has persuaded some (e.g. Hardie 2007: 130) more than others. Schäfer 1998: 68 n. 94 makes a convincing case against my dating which I now accept. The stylistic arguments for dating the surviving barbarian figures from the Rome monument are persuasive: Schneider 1986: esp. 189–91. For scepticism about Schneider's thesis see Rose 2005: 24 n. 22.

mock sea battle in an artificial lake excavated for this purpose, complete with an islet representing Salamis. As Ovid recalled, 'Caesar Augustus brought on Persian and Athenian ships in a naval battle show (*naumachia*)', the contestants supplied from prisoners and criminals. This recreation of Salamis in the imperial capital, with the 'Athenians'/'Romans' once more emerging victorious, also announced the latest twist in Parthian policy: C. Caesar, the emperor's adopted son, would depart shortly after with proconsular authority on a military mission to the Euphrates frontier.[5] As well as spectacle, the naumachia was a piece of imperial signalling: 'by re-enacting Salamis in Rome a claim is made that Rome, a greater power yet, has succeeded to the historical mission of Athens'.[6]

The analogy between Roman enemies and Greece's ancient bugbear, Achaemenid Persia, presented the victories of Augustus over eastern foes (Antony and Cleopatra; the Parthians) as the latest successes in the grand narrative of ceaseless struggle to defend civilisation from external barbarism reaching back to myth–historical times and paid honour to earlier Greek successes in this struggle. The original narrative was created by Greeks, especially Athenians, in the fifth century BC. By the time of Augustus it had become a chain story, since later Greek powers in combat with barbarians – Alexander, the Aetolians and the Attalids – serially compared their struggles with the Greco-Persian Wars when they in turn presented themselves as champions of (Greek) civilisation.[7] Hölscher has suggested that the general intention of official Augustan culture was to create an atmosphere which spontaneously 'provoked applause'.[8] This genre of official glorification sought applause not only for the ruler, but more broadly for the benefits of Roman rule.[9] The epithet 'saviour' which the Greeks bestowed on Augustus suggests the provincial feelings of gratitude and loyalty into which Roman successes against external foes could tap.[10] In the same vein Roman emperors manipulated local memories of Alexander when presenting campaigns against Parthia, playing on the 'political needs of the

[5] For a departure date in May 2 BC see Rose 2005: 45 n. 132.

[6] Hardie 2007: 129–30. For the naumachia see Augustus, *Mon. Anc.* 23; Cass. Dio 55.10.7; Ov. *Ars Amat.* 1.171–172. Bowersock 1984: esp. 171–6. 'Islet' (*nēsidion*): Cass. Dio 66.25.4 with Coleman 1993: 53–4; 67 for the contestants.

[7] Stewart 2004 and Strootman 2005 are important recent treatments of this topic.

[8] Hölscher 2000: 258.

[9] Note Ando 2000: xii. 'In asking for provincials' gratitude, emperors had also to universalize the benefits of their actions. That is to say, they had to describe their actions as advantageous not simply to Rome or Roman citizens but to all residents of the empire.'

[10] E.g. Kantiréa 2007: 41–5 for the cult of 'Auguste dieu sauveur' in Greece. Schäfer 1998: 66 n. 86 for the association of this title with success in foreign policy.

eastern provinces', where 'the memory of Alexander continued to fascinate the eastern populations'.[11]

In Greece itself Augustan praises for the ancient struggle against Persia are reflected in local measures to renew historical memories of the Persian Wars not only in Athens, but also, as argued here for the first time, in Sparta and Plataea. Although the core impulse for these initiatives came from the centre of power, their elaboration and implementation involved cultural brokers in the provinces whose identity can sometimes be glimpsed, both local notables and, on the 'courtier' model argued earlier, outside benefactors too. The case of Athens, considered first, provides some rare evidence for local reactions to these initiatives.

ATHENS

This section begins by taking a position on the scholarly speculation that an Athenian response to the Parthian policy of Augustus should be read into the monopteros or circular tempietto on the Acropolis dedicated by the Athenian People to the goddess Roma and Augustus 'Saviour'. This dedication, and thus the completion of the building, is dated on epigraphic grounds between 27 and 18/17 BC.[12] The most developed interpretation, by Thomas Schäfer, argues that in 20 BC, following successful negotiations with Parthia, Augustus commissioned two circular temples, one on the Capitol in Rome, the other this same monopteros, as temporary abodes for the recovered Roman standards brought home by Augustus via Athens in 19 BC and destined for a permanent home in the temple of Mars Ultor in the new Forum of Augustus. The difficulty with this otherwise seductive hypothesis is that the monopteros has all the character of a local initiative: the Athenians, not the emperor, are named as the dedicators, there is no mention of Parthia, and the workmanship is poor, which would be unexpected in an imperial commission of such import.[13] What can be said with some confidence is that the monument, in whatever circumstances it

[11] Quotation from Ceausescu 1974: esp. 166–7; see Spawforth 2006a: 21.

[12] *IG* ii², 3173. Kantiréa 2007: 125–7.

[13] Schäfer 1998: 58–9, himself aware of these objections. A further difficulty is raised by Rich 1998, arguing that the plan for the temporary temple of Mars Ultor depicted on western coins of 19/18 BC was proposed by the Senate (not Augustus i.e.) in 20 BC but was rejected by the princeps on his return to Rome in 19 BC and never actually built. For architectural antecedents for the monopteros see Kantiréa 2007. Outside Athens circular buildings are associated in the Greek architectural tradition with the divinising, or full worship, of contemporary monarchs, as in the Philippeum at Olympia, apparently a model for the Ptolemaeum at Limyra: Borchhardt and Stanzl 1990 with the reconstruction on p. 183.

was begun, probably at the instigation of the imperial priest Pammenes (II) who is named in the dedication, was finished in time for the Athenians to register the negotiations of 20 BC, since the title 'Saviour' no doubt refers to this Parthian 'success', one celebrated throughout the empire.[14]

We have already seen, however, that, on Schneider's reconstruction, Augustus did give a high importance to leaving behind in Athens an impressive memory of his Parthian 'triumph' at the unfinished Olympieum in the form of 'the Persians in Phrygian stone holding up a tripod'. Unlike the monopteros, which he does not mention, Pausanias singles out this offering as 'worth seeing'. In the years following the appearance of this exotic monument there are clear signs that Augustan Athens sought to burnish its war memorials. The most important single item of evidence is a long but fragmentary Athenian inscription which records the 'most extensive public-works project ever undertaken by Athens in the post-Classical period'.[15] A striking feature of this text is its focus on the commemoration of long-gone victories and commanders, above all Themistocles and the battle of Salamis. The text comprises parts of two decrees. The first, reduced to its fragmentary last lines, ends with the numbers who voted for and against, inscribed in old-fashioned acrophonic numerals (line 3). The second decree records the decision of the People to entrust to an otherwise-unknown hoplite-general, Metrodorus son of Xeno of Phyle, the general care of a far-reaching programme of restoration of sacred property encroached on by private individuals to its rightful owners, 'the gods and the heroes'. The successors of Metrodorus were to swear to uphold (lines 5–6, 26–27) the outcomes of this programme, much of which comprised the re-establishment of property boundaries. The decree forbids any future alienation of the properties on pain of denunciation to the king–archon on a charge of impiety (lines 8–9). It enjoins Metrodorus along with the king–archon to carry out propitiatory sacrifices in all the profaned sanctuaries, the victims to be supplied by another official, the treasurer of the sacred *diataxis* (lines 12–14). After mention of a repair (*episkeuēn*) to the Eleusinian sanctuary, prospective or already carried out (line 22), there then follows (lines 30–59) a long list of 'things restored' (*tade apokatestēse*) by Metrodorus in the archonship of [–]medes, beginning with sites on Salamis, then Piraeus, followed by Attica and Athens itself.

[14] Kantiréa 2007: 44. For the 'standards hypothesis', with variants, see also Baldassari 1998: 53–4 and 58–61; Kajava 2001: 82; Rose 2005: 50–3.

[15] Quotation from Schmalz 2007–8: 9. Text: *IG* ii², 1035 = *SEG* 26.121 incorporating the new edition of Culley 1975. The following discussion is heavily indebted to Culley 1975 and 1977 and the subsequent commentary of Schmalz 2007–8.

On Salamis, the monuments mentioned include (line 32) a (?)shrine 'where the ancient city called Cychrea lies'; the '*temenos* of Ajax, which was reconsecrated' (line 32); and 'the (?) cape on which are located the Persian trophy of Themistocles and the mass grave (*poluandreion*) where those who fell in the battle are buried' (lines 33–34). Cychrea, the main town on Salamis, was named for a local hero Cychreus, whose shrine, known to Pausanias and to Plutarch, may be in question here. Pausanias knew too of the significance of Cychreus for the battle of Salamis. 'They say when the Athenian fleet was in battle against the Persians, a serpent appeared in the ships; the oracle told Athens it was Cychreus the divine hero.'[16] The Salaminian hero Ajax whose shrine was now re-established had been another assisting hero at Salamis, having been prayed to by the allied Greeks on the eve of the battle.[17] Again his shrine was known to Pausanias, as was the 'trophy for the victory of Greece which was due to Themistocles' on the Cynosura promontory.[18]

The list then moves to Piraeus, where lacunose lines mention 'the regatta (*paraplous*) of the sacred ships' and 'Eetionea, from which the sacred ships . . . ' (lines 36–37); the shrine of [Artemis He]rcane 'which Themistocles founded before the naval battle off Salamis' (line 45); 'the dry docks (*psuktrai*) near the dockyards of Zea harbour'; and more dry docks 'in the Grand [Harbour]' (lines 45–46). The regatta of the sacred ships from Eetionea in the main harbour to the Munichia harbour (modern Pasalimani), a naval rite in honour of Artemis Munichia, commemorated the battle of Salamis, as did, self-evidently, the shrine of Artemis Hercane. The dry docks were the old ship-sheds built for the triremes of Classical Athens, including the best-known concentration of over 169 sheds lining the main base for the war-fleet at Zea harbour.[19]

The sites in or near the city itself included (line 53) the shrine (*hieron*) of Euclea and Eunomia. The historical import of this shrine in imperial times is made clear by Pausanias:

A bit further off still is the shrine of Euclea. This is another dedication from the Persians at Marathon. I think the Athenians were particularly proud of that victory; even Aeschylus himself, when the end of his life came in sight, commemorated nothing but this, for all his glory as a poet, and his fighting in the ships at Salamis and at Artemisium. He inscribed the name of his city and his father's name, and

[16] Paus. 1. 36.1. Plut. *Solon* 10.2. Culley 1977: 292–3.
[17] Hdt. 8.64 ('. . . they prayed to all the gods, and called Ajax and Telamon to come to them from Salamis . . . ').
[18] Paus. 1.35.2, 36.1. The mass grave for the fallen from the battle is known from this inscription only.
[19] Culley 1977: 294–5; Garland 2001: 151, 154–5; Schmalz 2007–8: 40–1.

that the witnesses of his manhood were the trees at Marathon, and the Persians who had landed there. (Paus. 1.14.5 transl. P. Levi)

On the Acropolis itself, finally, the Athenians decreed (lines 25–27) the restoration of the 'dedications and the statues set up by King At[talus] for the security (*asphaleia*) of the [city]'. These 'dedications and statues' are usually identified with the so-called Attalid Dedication described by Pausanias, offerings of King Attalus I of Pergamum:[20]

By the south wall are the dedications of Attalus: the legendary war of the giants who used to live around Thrace and the isthmus of Pallene, the Athenian battle with the Amazons, the success against the Persians at Marathon, and the destruction of the Gauls in Mysia; each of these covers three or four feet. (Paus. 1.25.2 transl. P. Levi)

The date of this inscription has long been disputed. A consensus is now emerging that it belongs in the reign of Augustus.[21] Zanker, more specifically, has claimed a broad connection between the Athenian programme and 'moral rearmament' in Augustan Rome.[22] Geoffrey Schmalz, finally, has proposed persuasive prosopographical arguments for the restoration of the name of the king–archon as 'Mantias [son of Dositheus]' (lines 12–13), member of a well-known Athenian family active at this time, the careers of whose father and son suggest a date for his own king–archonship in the last decade of the first century BC.[23] This Athenian programme of restoration of shrines encroached upon by private individuals is clearly in the same spirit as the corrective action of Augustus and Agrippa in 27 BC, attested in an inscription from Cyme in Asia Minor.[24] This inscription preserves a letter from the proconsul of Asia, Vinicius, who had been asked by the Cymeans to take action against a citizen in possession of a sanctuary of Dionysus, now reclaimed by a religious association (*thiasos*) on the basis of the 'order of Augustus Caesar'.[25] The Cymean and Athenian actions are in line with the broad programme of restoration of public cults

[20] Stewart 2004: 287; Schmalz 2007–8: 24–5.

[21] See the list of twenty-two different views of earlier scholars given by Culley 1975: 217 n. 18, with suggested dates ranging from 100 BC to the second century AD. Day 1942: 145–51 ('time of Augustus'); Oliver 1972 ('almost precisely in the year 27/6 BC'); Culley 1975: 223 (not before the last decade of the first century BC); Geagan 1997: 30 n. 41 ('Augustan'); Habicht 1996: 84–6 ('bald nach 31 v. Chr.'); Jones 2005 ('almost certainly Augustan'). Kantiréa 2007: 115 (between 10/9 and 3/2 BC, following Culley).

[22] Zanker 1988: 261; ibid. ch. 2 for the Augustan programme of religious restoration in Rome.

[23] Schmalz 2007–8: 14–16.

[24] Sherk 1969: no. 61 with important commentary.

[25] Sherk 1969: 319; Oliver 1972: 195 seems to envisage a broader remit, but does not refute the objections of Sherk.

promoted by the Augustan regime, its echoes in Augustan Greece discussed in Chapter 4.

Here what needs more emphasis is precisely how well an Augustan date suits the particular antiquarian emphases of the Athenian programme as recoverable from this damaged inscription. Firstly there is the striking priority given to the island of Salamis in the list of 'things restored': surely to be explained by the historical association with old Athenian wars and above all with the great naval victory. The monuments of the Piraeus, listed second, were clearly important for much the same reason, and more generally as emblems of the sea-power marking the old Athenian greatness. Particularly notable here is the concern for the ship-sheds at a time when the Athenian navy was ancient history. There can have been little or no reason for the conservation of these roofed slipways other than as memorials of the ships that fought at Salamis and, perhaps more generally, of the naval empire of Classical Athens. The redundancy of these naval facilities at the time of the passage of this decree is shown by the very fact of their takeover by private individuals. The extraordinary emphasis on the Athenian thalassocracy of four centuries earlier seems inexplicable at this date without an external impulse, such as that provided by the high ideological importance of the Persian Wars, and Salamis not least, under Augustus. Evidently the ship-sheds were commonly seen by this date as physical traces of the old Athenian sea-power, the memory of which declamation would help to keep alive.[26]

Another clue to the Romanity of this programme is the inclusion in the list of 'things restored' at Piraeus of the Asclepieum in Zea and its dedications, accompanied by a reference to 'the Peloponnesian War' (lines 40–41). The Asclepieum housed the cult of Asclepius on its initial arrival from Epidaurus at the time of the 'plague of Athens' (430–426 BC). It was this historical context that provided the spur for the Augustan restoration, as is clear enough precisely from this reference to the 'Peloponnesian War'. Schmalz has rightly emphasised how unusual 'from a commemorative perspective' this inclusion was: the Peloponnesian War was not part of the traditional self-glorification of Athens, for the obvious reason that it constituted a humiliating defeat, not a glorious victory.[27] The explanation for its inclusion is probably the fact that Greek historical high-points were now coming to interest a larger public, including the Romans. As well as

[26] As in the theme of Aelius Aristides, 'Isocrates tries to wean the Athenians from their thalassocracy' (Philostr. *VS* 2.9 (584)).

[27] Schmalz 2007–8: 12. Chaniotis 2005: 239–40 (also seeing that the Peloponnesian War is the odd man out). Loraux 2006: 196–7.

the naumachiae restaging Salamis, imperial Rome somewhat later (AD 80) would witness mock replays of the battle between Corcyra and Corinth in 434 BC and the Athenian attack on Syracuse in 414 BC. Kathleen Coleman has suggested on the basis of these events the emergence at Rome of 'a general, if uninformed, enthusiasm for the highlights of Greek history'.[28] For more educated people, the Athenian plague may have been remarkable chiefly because it prompted a famous description by the great Athenian historian Thucydides in his history of the Peloponnesian War.[29] There was a Roman 'fashion' for Thucydides in the late first century BC, first evident in the fifties BC[30] and lasting into the Augustan age, as shown from the critical essay *On Thucydides* composed by Dionysius of Halicarnassus at the request of Q. Aelius Tubero, father of two Augustan consuls.[31] As seen in Chapter 1, among Romans as well as Greeks the text of Thucydides was sufficiently authoritative at this time for a Spartan descendant of Brasidas to think to cite it at a trial before Augustus in the capital.

The assumption just made, that Romans in this period would have wished to see the historic sights of Athens and Attica, is well borne out by Cicero, above all in the third dialogue of *De finibus*, set in the Athens in which the young Cicero studied in 79 BC. Cicero makes very clear here the power of Athenian places (*loci*) to conjure up the famous men of the past associated with them:

> "(*Lucius speaking*) I have actually made a pilgrimage down to the Bay of Phalerum, where they say Demosthenes used to practise declaiming on the beach . . . Also just now I turned off the road a little way on the right, to visit the tomb of Pericles. Though in fact there is no end to it in this city: wherever we go we tread historic ground (*in aliqua historia vestigium*)." (Cic. *De fin.* 5.2.5)

Among other historic monuments of the Athenians which might have interested Romans as well as Greeks was the so-called Attalid Dedication by Attalus I on the Acropolis. This celebrated the Pergamene victories over the Gauls or Galatae, and the Romans had only recently resolved their own historic struggle with these barbarians, following Caesar's conquest of the Gallic homeland in the fifties BC.[32] The restoration of Salaminian monuments included (line 35) an unknown locale 'named by Solon', who was a prominent figure in the early war between Athens and Megara for

[28] Coleman 1993: 70 with 60–1. It was the emperor Titus in AD 80 who restaged Corcyra versus Corinth and Athens versus Syracuse: Cass. Dio 66.25.2–4.
[29] Thuc. 2.47–58. [30] Rawson 1985a: 222–3, citing Cic. *De or.* 2.55; Hornblower 1995: 68.
[31] Dion. Hal. *Thuc.* 1; *PIR*² A 274. Gruen 1993: 256–8 (on Q. Aelius Tubero, nephew of Scipio Aemilianus). See Wardman 1976: 106–9.
[32] For Roman awareness of the Attalid victories over the Gauls note Stewart 2004: 233–4 and 236.

possession of the island. The archaic Athenian lawgiver interested the Romans as part of a wider Roman curiosity about the Greek origins of *leges*. Cicero believed that Solon's funerary legislation was almost literally incorporated into the Twelve Tables.[33] Solon was also believed to have created the Areopagus, an Athenian body for which, in its first-century BC form, the Romans had 'high regard'. This venerable council of ex-archons had become politically more prominent in post-Sullan Athens, and its membership was now drawn from the leading political families of the city: the Athenian friends of Rome.[34]

The fact that, as we have seen, Pausanias in the second century appears to have visited in person not a few of these sites, including ones on Salamis, suggests that practical as well as ideological-cum-political considerations drove this programme: that is, the need to put these historical and memorial sites into order, to tidy them up and make them look cared for lest Athens seemed neglectful of its heritage: this for the benefit of interested visitors, including (and perhaps especially) eminent Romans.

The inscription is remarkable, finally, for recording (line 3) the number of votes cast for and against the proposal to carry out this programme of restoration at the end of the first decree: 3461 for, and 155 against. The total number of votes cast (3516) cannot be used as a demographic datum,[35] since eligibility for the citizen assembly by the later second century AD, and perhaps much earlier in Roman times, had in some wise been restricted to 'those who assemble (*ekklēsiazein*) according to the laws'.[36] Nor, for the same reason, can it be used as a measure of local levels of interest in the proposal: we simply do not know the size of the politically active citizen body in the Augustan age. Even so, the small number of those who voted against suggests a broad sympathy among a swathe of politically active Athenians for the religious and patriotic sub-text of the programme. Here we seem to have a rare piece of evidence for the memory of the Persian Wars as a symbol of unity around which could cohere, not only Roman as well as Greek, but also both elite and sub-elite, at any rate at Athens.

As to Romans, the way in which the ideological theme of the Persian Wars now started to take on a universal meaning transcending its Greek origin is suggested by the identity of a priest of the same cult of Euclea and Eunomia towards the end of the first century AD. Two Athenian

[33] Cic. *Leg.* 2.25.64. [34] Rawson 1985b: 59–66.

[35] The inconclusive discussion of demography in Roman Athens by Day 1942: 271–9 mentions this inscription.

[36] Oliver 1989: no. 194 l. 13 (AD 182–4). Geagan 1967: 86–7, arguing that the restriction was not on admission but on the right to speak. Sainte-Croix 1981: 527.

inscriptions record the lifetime tenure of a distinguished visitor to Flavian Athens, Q. Trebellius Rufus of Tolosa. Rufus, a rich Roman knight, had earlier served as the first high-priest of his province (Narbonese Gaul) and in unspecified equestrian posts in the imperial service, relocating to Flavian Athens after his western career, becoming a naturalised Athenian citizen and local benefactor, and holding the eponymous archonship and this priesthood. A grateful Athens granted their Tolosan priest conspicuous honours, including the *chrusophoria*, the right, in his priestly capacity, to wear gold-embroidered vestments at religious celebrations. As Duncan Fishwick points out, '[d]ressed in full regalia, Trebellius must . . . have cut a striking figure, the cynosure of all eyes at public festivals'. The basis of his attachment to Athens is unknown, but the reputation of 'Palladian' Tolosa for intellectual culture points to the answer. It is not unreasonable, in that case, to presume that Trebellius knew some Greek history, including the role of Athens in the Persian Wars, and gladly accepted the priesthood of an Athenian cult which commemorated Marathon.[37]

A prominent foreigner and the Persian Wars theme had already come together in the Athens of Augustus in the figure of C. Iulius Nicanor son of Areus, a Syrian Greek from Hierapolis Bambyce.[38] Nicanor is known both from Athenian inscriptions and from a passage of anti-Athenian invective in Dio of Prusa claiming that the Syrian had purchased Salamis for the Athenians, a claim now recognised as incorrect *au pied de la lettre*, since Salamis in Roman times was always an Athenian possession.[39] Chronology is the big problem posed for historians by Nicanor, who has been assigned variously to the Augustan and the post-Augustan era. Recently a strong case has been reasserted for an Augustan date. This is followed here, partly because the epigraphical arguments are persuasive and partly because the reign of Augustus provides such a clear historical context for the Athenian activities of Nicanor, whereas the reigns of the later Julio-Claudian emperors do not.[40] The clearest indication of date is a fragmentary Athenian decree in honour of Nicanor voted in the Athenian archonship of Laco, the son of Eurycles, which must have fallen late in the reign of Augustus,

[37] *IG* ii², 4193.13–14 and 34–5 as discussed by Schmalz 2007–8: 44. Fishwick 1998: esp. 92–3 for the *chrusophoria* and 101 for 'Palladian' Tolosa; also Kantiréa 2007: 178.

[38] Steph. Byz. s.v. Hierapolis. For the praenomen and patronymic, preserved in *IG* ii², 3785, see Follet 2004: 145–6, re-identifying this Nicanor with the Syrian, as already argued by Graindor 1927: 8, 51 and 168.

[39] Dio. Chrys. *Or.* 31.116. Habicht 1996 (Athens and Salamis). Inscriptions: see the references at *SEG* 30.108.

[40] Jones 1978: 227–8; Bowersock 1984: 175–6 and 179–80; Böhme 1995: 146–62; Bowersock 2005: 12–15. Kantiréa 2007: 177 and 219 n. 4; Schmalz 2007–8: 16–17 n. 29.

perhaps around AD 4.[41] This decree also records that Nicanor served as president of 'Sebastan games' at Athens in honour of Augustus, which presumably he financed, and that the Athenians had conferred on him (by acclamation?) the titles of 'New Homer and New Themistocles'. Louis Robert long ago suggested that Nicanor was the 'Roman' for whom the Athenians, according to Pausanias, re-inscribed a statue of Themistocles which stood in the Prytaneum, a complex remodelled under Augustus (see Chapter 5): this Athenian gesture was particularly honorific, especially if the original inscription was left unerased, and would have conveyed the message that Themistocles and Nicanor were in some sense the same.[42] Robert also pointed to a poem by Automedon and comments by Dio of Prusa showing that some Greeks criticised the Athenians for their over-readiness to award grandiloquent titles of the 'new Themistocles' type to foreigners in return for benefaction. The passage in Dio, explicitly referring to 'those who criticise the city (of Athens)' (*hoi diasurontes tēn polin*), shows how far Athens in the early principate was seen by a larger eastern world as a model of Hellenism, to be scrutinised for signs of derogation:

> But I, for my part, if anyone makes these statements either to reproach the Athenians and to show that its present inhabitants are not worthy of it or of the glory which the Athenians of old bequeathed to them, or to express in a general way a feeling of commiseration for Hellas, that she has fallen to so low an estate, when such acts are committed by a people who for a time were regarded as the foremost of the race, I believe he is right. (Dio Chrys. *Or.* 31.117, Loeb transl.)

Discomfort in the face of such criticism explains why the Athenians later erased these titles in inscriptions mentioning Nicanor, no doubt some time after his death.[43]

Returning to Nicanor's Athenian career, another inscription records his election as hoplite-general, an administrative position of real power in Roman Athens; this election presupposes that Nicanor had already become an Athenian citizen.[44] Of his two honorific titles, that of 'New Themistocles' takes us back to Dio of Prusa, since it clearly references Nicanor's involvement with the island of Salamis. A further inscription

[41] *IG* ii², 1069. Date: Cartledge and Spawforth 2002: 101 (Laco); Bowersock 2005: 12, emphasising that the form of the naming of Augustus ('*Kaisar Sebastos*') in the heading of the decree must point to a date in the emperor's lifetime.

[42] Shear 2007 on this practice, stressing (245) that it was 'not dictated only by poverty'. For statuary of Greek notables in imperial times: Smith 1998.

[43] Paus. 1.18.3 with Robert 1977: 15 n. 46; *AP* 11.319 (Automedon) with Robert 1981. Erasures: *IG* ii², 3786–9; Robert 1977: 15–16.

[44] *IG* ii², 1723.

from Athens, recently restudied, sheds new light on this involvement. The long but fragmentary text concerns Nicanor, Athens and Salamis. It appears to document an accord between Athens and Nicanor regulating the use of land on Salamis which Nicanor had given the city. The Roman authorities were heavily involved, as shown by two references to the aerarium, the Roman treasury. A stipulation (lines 28–30) against 'anyone who contravenes the agreement about Salamis or speaks against it' looks like a standard sanction, rather than pointing to local animus against the agreement.[45] As Christopher Jones has suggested, the 'purchase' which Dio of Prusa records could have taken the form of the buying back by Nicanor, not of the island as such, which (to repeat) never ceased to be Athenian in Roman times as far as is known, but of public (Athenian) property which had fallen into private hands during the triumviral period. On this view, Nicanor's benefaction would have borne a strong resemblance to the spirit of the Athenian programme of restoration discussed above. Jones placed the Salaminian donation of Nicanor before this larger programme, although the reverse is perhaps likelier, as suggested by Schmalz: that is, it was the main programme which 'inspired' the offer of further support from a Syrian benefactor.[46]

The Athenian title of 'New Themistocles' recognised that Nicanor was interested in Salamis for ideological reasons to do with the famous victory. Perhaps the essential point of his benefaction was to contribute to ensuring the dignity and integrity of the island as a possession of the Athenian People. It is hard to see Nicanor as anything other than a 'cultural broker', a lesser Herod the Great who, like the Judaean king, intervened in Greece from the Roman near east in full awareness of the Augustan programme. The names 'C. Iulius' imply a grant of Roman citizenship to Nicanor from Augustus himself. Like C. Iulius Eurycles, Nicanor was a partisan of the princeps, loyally celebrating imperial games in Athens.[47] His origins would have warmed him personally to the Roman claims which the victory of Salamis now symbolised: well within living memory, in 40 BC, the Parthians for a time had overrun Syria and a large part of Asia Minor.

The programme of restoration work on Salamis and at Piraeus was not the only indicator of the renewed standing of Themistocles in Augustan

[45] Note the parallel from Thasos (first century BC) adduced by Jones 2005: 169.

[46] *IG* ii², 1119 = *Agora* 16.337, with the re-edition of Follet 2004 and the further comments and new edition of Jones 2005, whose line-numbering is followed here, as well as (broadly) his interpretation and dating. Schmalz 2007–2008: 16 (*contra* Jones 2005: 172).

[47] Robert 1977: 15 rightly stressed the existence of 'des liens étroits avec le gouvernement romain, puisqu'il s'appelait Gaius Iulius Nicanor, ayant donc reçu le droit de cité romaine ou le tenant de son père'.

Athens as the architect of the victory of Salamis. It is surely no coincidence that his lineage returns to prominence in Athenian civic life at just this time, in the person of Themistocles son of Theophrastus of Hagnous, the pious and learned daduch who initiated Augustus into the mysteries in 19 BC. This Themistocles received a long eulogy in a packed meeting of the Athenian assembly at which the princeps himself was probably present on his visit in 21 BC (see Chapter 4). His descent is vouchsafed by a genealogical passage in Pausanias, who took a considerable interest in the great Themistocles and his progeny:

> Themistocles son of Poliarchus, the great-grandson of Themistocles who fought the Persians at sea in Xerxes' time, is also buried here. I omit his later descendants except Acestion, daughter of Xenocles son of Sophocles son of Leon<tius>; all these ancestors to her great-grandfather Leon<tius> were daduchs and during her own lifetime she saw first her brother Sophocles carrying the torch, then her husband Themistocles, and, when he died, her son Theophrastus. They say she was so fortunate. (Paus. 1.37.1 transl. P. Levi with adjustments)

Part of a Pausanian description of historic tombs lining the Sacred Way, this information can be combined with a long account (nineteen lines) of the priestly ancestors of the daduch Themistocles in an Athenian decree in his honour. This reveals that Pausanias' Themistocles, the husband of Acestion, was the daduch's paternal grandfather. If the periegete can be believed, it was through this earlier marriage that the Augustan daduch could claim descent from the famous Themistocles.[48] From his youthful studies in Athens, probably under Nero, Plutarch knew of a later Themistocles, perhaps an Athenian descendant of the daduch, who enjoyed 'still to our day' hereditary revenues supposedly first granted by Magnesia-on-the-Maeander to the famous ancestor after his exile from Athens around 470 BC.[49] There is surely a whiff of invented tradition here: the possibility must be allowed that Magnesia 'resumed' these payments only under Augustus or soon after. This Magnesian action would then form part of the same

[48] For the family see Kirchner's stemma at *IG* ii², 3510; also Clinton 1974: 58, stemma. [Plut.] *Mor*. 843b–c gives the descent of the Hagnousian family from Lycurgus, the fourth-century BC statesman. Davies 1971: 219–20 rightly saw that the Hagnousian family can only have descended from the famous Themistocles in the female line. *Pace* Davies, if Pausanias is right, the Hagnousian family was already using the name Themistocles *before* its intermarriage (via Acestion) with the lineage of the famous statesman. The entry s.v. Themistocles in *LGPN* 2 shows that the name was not uncommon at Athens (fifty-three individuals). Since it is associated with at least twenty-two different demotics, it must have been employed in many different patrilineages. Decree for the daduch: see ch. 4.

[49] Plut. *Them*. 32.5.

external applause for the achievement of the great Themistocles as the Athenian benefaction of Nicanor.

A number of Greek poems in *The Garland of Philip*, a collection put together probably under Gaius or Nero, are products of this wider expression of admiration, including the following by 'Geminus':

> Put Hellas in place of my humble tomb; then put ships' timbers on her, tokens of a barbarian fleet destroyed. And paint the Persian army and Xerxes as a base for the tomb all around; with these for company, bury Themistocles. And, for a headstone, Salamis shall stand thereon proclaiming my deeds. Why lay me, so great, among things so small?[50]

This 'Geminus' is of interest because he has been tentatively identified with a Claudian suffect consul (AD 46), C. Terentius Tullius Geminus.[51] Like the Athenian priesthood of Trebellius Rufus, this poem on Themistocles suggests how Augustan culture raised consciousness of the Persian Wars among the educated in both east and west. The renewed prestige of Themistocles emerges from the life of the great man which Plutarch composed around the turn of the first century AD. Not only is Themistocles presented here with an emphasis 'on glory and memorialization', but Plutarch, as Christopher Pelling has shown, 'assumes in his audience – indeed, *ostentatiously* assumes – familiarity with the events, and also with much of the famous language used to describe them'.[52] There was a contemporary cultural context for this familiarity, as well as the more timeless background of shared knowledge of Greek literary classics among the educated classes of the Mediterranean. These ancient Greek successes now belonged to what might be termed a new 'imperial' sense of Roman history in which room had been made for Greek as well as Roman exploits. Thermopylae and Plataea were absorbed into this same narrative, as we shall see.

SPARTA

The interpretation offered here of the findings of the renewed excavations of the 1990s in the Spartan theatre reveals a significant stoking of Spartan memories of the Persian Wars under Augustus. The cardinal place of

[50] Compare *AP* 7.236, 7.235, 7.74 = Gow and Page 1968: Antipater (of Thessalonice, Augustan) cxv, Diodorus (of Tarsus, date unknown), xi and xiv.

[51] *AP* 7.73 = Gow and Page 1968: Geminus i; cited by Schmalz 2007–8: 38. For the possible identification with the consul, who had ties with Macedonia to judge from *AP* 9.707, see *RE* 7A2 (1948) cols. 1312–13 Tullius 35 (E. Groag); *PIR*² T 380–381 ('res admodum incerta').

[52] Pelling 2007: 150–5. It may be no more than coincidence that the antithetical expressions 'driving Asia out of Greece' and '"let us capture Asia in Europe"' (respectively. Plut. *Arist.-Cato* 2.3 and *Them*. 16.3–4), to which Pelling draws attention, also have a strikingly Augustan ring.

these memories in the image of the Roman city is already shown by their evocation in the whipping contest, the iconic symbol of Classical Sparta for the educated classes of the principate. According to Plutarch, after the contest Spartan youths formed an annual 'procession of the Lydians' – probably wearing actual Lydian costume – in memory of an otherwise unattested episode during the battle of Plataea when a surprise attack by Lydian troops from the Persian army was supposedly beaten off by the Spartan king Pausanias. This procession must have been traditional, rather than a recent invention, as I used to think. What it commemorated was the rationale or *aition* of the whipping in its Classical form, in which the boys (the 'Lydians') tried to snatch cheeses guarded by whip-bearers (the 'Spartans'). This *aition* no longer matched the Roman reconstruction of the whipping, which turned the boys from active aggressors into passive endurers, as we saw in the last chapter. Despite the mismatch, the Spartans of imperial times kept up (or revived) the procession because the ancient conflict still mattered during the principate.[53] The temporal collocation of the whipping and the Lydian procession offered the Roman Greek spectator at these events, first, the re-enactment of the old training in its most paradigmatic form, followed by a commemoration of the most glorious of the battles which this training supported, namely, the Spartan successes in the Persian Wars.

At Roman Sparta visitors were also shown monuments commemorating the wars. Particularly impressive was the Persian Stoa, which Pausanias rated the most eye-catching (*epiphanestaton*) sight of the agora. In its original form it had been built by the Spartans from the spoils of the Persian Wars, but was altered over time 'to its current size and decoration'. As seen by Pausanias it featured columns 'in' or 'on' which (*epi*) stood supporting figures of the Persian enemy carved in white marble. Figures of barbarians displayed in either way would have been out of place in Greek architecture of the first half of the fifth century BC. In fact, the parallels for both arrangements date mainly from the principate.[54] The columns seen by Pausanias must have belonged to a later phase of the Persian Stoa, when the original décor of barbarians was either supplemented or replaced with more modern figures.[55]

[53] Plut. *Arist.* 17.10. Kennell 1995: 75 (Lydian dress). Ducat 2006: 252 (*aition*). Spawforth 2001: 382 (possibly an invented tradition). Pelling 2007: 150–1 ('still today' in Plutarch's Persian Wars narratives).

[54] 'On' suggests columns topped by statues; 'in' suggests columns incorporating large niches for statues. See the ancient parallels illustrated in Schneider 1986: Tafeln 34.1 and 35.2–4.

[55] Paus. 3.11.3. Schneider 1986: 109–14.

In the absence of archaeological evidence, the chronology of this putative update is speculative.[56] However, the circumstantial case for the Augustan age is strong. In general there can be no doubt that the Augustan imagery of captured, defeated or submissive barbarians was taken up in Greece. As well as in the tripod monument in the Olympieum, if this is correctly assigned to Augustus in 19 BC, it featured on an unknown Augustan monument in the colony of Corinth, seat of the governor.[57] Vitruvius described the Persian Stoa immediately after his analysis of the architectural meaning of Caryatids, doing so in language revealing the ideological significance of the building for Augustan culture as a model memorial to civic *virtus* on the one hand and, on the other, to the defeat and symbolic punishment of (eastern) barbarian hubris:

> In just the same way the Spartans, led by Pausanias the son of Agesilaus, after they overcame the infinite numbers of the Persian army with their small force in the battle of Plataea and celebrated a glorious triumph with the captured weaponry and spoils, built the Persian Stoa from the war booty as a monument of the renown and *virtus* of the citizens, by way of a trophy of victory for posterity. And there they have arranged images of the Persian captives in barbarian dress, holding up the roof, their pride punished with well-deserved outrage. In addition, by this means the enemy might shrink back, terror stricken at the results of Spartan courage. At the same time the citizens, looking upon this example of battlefield courage, uplifted by pride, would be prepared to defend their own liberty. (Vitr. 1.1.6)

Of the two figures singled out by Pausanias a century and a half later, one, Mardonius, was the Persian commander-in-chief at Plataea. The other, Artemisia, queen of Halicarnassus, fought on the side of Xerxes at Salamis. Although Spartan ships took part in Salamis, according to Herodotus the Aeginetans contributed most to the victory,[58] followed by the Athenians. Thus there are reasonable grounds for questioning whether the commemoration of Salamis was part of the original, fifth-century BC, concept of the Persian Stoa. On the other hand, it has been pointed out that Artemisia, like the Caryatids in the aetiology of Vitruvius, was also a symbol of Greek 'treachery' in the Persian Wars. Although herself a Greek (her father was Halicarnassian, her mother Cretan according to Herodotus), in the words of Pausanias she 'volunteered to fight for Xerxes against Greece'.[59] Under

[56] Recent British excavations have raised (again) the possible identification of the Stoa in its final form with the massive brick-faced monument east of the Spartan theatre traditionally known as the 'Roman Stoa' and now (hesitantly) dated to the second century AD: Waywell and Wilkes 1994: 413–14. They add: 'Unfortunately there is insufficient evidence to pronounce on this intriguing question.' Gengler and Marchetti 2000: 62–3 reject the identification and polemicise against '[c]ette légèreté avec laquelle on reconstitue parfois la topographie de Sparte'.

[57] Schneider 1986: 128–33; Rose 2005: 53–4. [58] Hdt. 8.93. [59] Schneider 1986: 112 n. 759.

Augustus this queen from Asia who fought in a sea battle in Greece on the 'wrong' side would surely have made contemporaries think of the 'Oriental' Cleopatra, present in her Egyptian warship at the battle of Actium. Over the centuries, Athens claimed Salamis as an Athenian victory with such success that Augustus, when he staged his mock battle of Salamis at Rome in 2 BC, pitted 'Persians', not against 'Greeks', but against 'Athenians'.[60] For this reason too the highlighting of Salamis in any Spartan rebuilding of the Persian Stoa would suit a time when Athens and Sparta enjoyed cordial relations, as they did precisely under Augustus. As well as the close ties of the Eurycles family with Athens, we find the Athenian People erecting a statue of its Spartan counterpart in this period.[61] A further chronological indicator is the use of 'white marble' (*lithos leukos*) for the barbarian figures – and possibly for the columns to which they were attached. Although the number of figures and columns is unknown, this 'modernising' of the sculptural décor of the Stoa sounds like a major building project. It is significant, therefore, that the large-scale use of white marble in Spartan architecture is first encountered precisely under Augustus with the new theatre (of which more below) and that marble itself became a bearer of meaning under Augustus as a symbol of architectural rebirth, above all in the capital.[62] Finally, there is the whole character of this building project as the upgrading of a historic monument, a civic activity which sits well with the Augustan emphasis on the restoration of public buildings and of which there are many other signs in Augustan Greece, as seen in Chapter 5.[63]

Other scholars have already suggested that the Persian Stoa in the form in which Pausanias saw it was the work of Eurycles. This suggestion needs to be taken far more seriously than it has been so far.[64] The proposition that Eurycles actively supported the cultural traditions of Sparta was canvassed in the last chapter. He has not yet been encountered as a patron of public works at Sparta, some of them discussed in Chapter 5. Above all, it is likely that he was responsible for the largest building project that Sparta had seen for two centuries, the Augustan theatre, of which more shortly. This monument, moreover, in its original form played a vital part in the Spartan commemoration of the Persian Wars. If Eurycles also repaired

[60] Cass. Dio 55.10.7. I owe this point to Schmalz 2007–8: 39.
[61] *IG*, ii², 3448. Peppa-Delmousou 1980: 434–9.
[62] Suet. *Aug.* 28. For marble in Augustan architecture: Favro 2005: 254.
[63] *Mon. Anc.* 20. The verb used by Augustus is *refeci*.
[64] Musti and Torelli 1991: 194–5, a view criticised by Gengler and Marchetti 2000: 62–3 for the 'très maigres éléments' in its support. They are probably right that Paus. 3.11.3–4 is no basis for linking the Stoa with the imperial temples in the Spartan agora.

the Persian Stoa, his involvement could explain the pairing of Plataea with Salamis in the sculpture. Augustus not only compared Actium with Salamis. His tripod monuments evoked memories of Plataea in the official commemoration of his 'victory' over Parthia in 21 BC. More broadly in Augustan thinking, Athens and Sparta constituted the twin poles of an idealised Hellenism of the past. Spartan consciousness of this shared role of cultural paradigm would explain how a building in Sparta came to celebrate Salamis as well as Plataea, just as it makes sense of the new pattern of intermarriages between the elites of Athens and Sparta which emerges precisely under Augustus (see later in this chapter).

It is time to turn to the Spartan theatre. The construction of this white-marble structure, as shown by ceramics and architectural style, can be placed in the late first century BC. The British excavators at the theatre in the 1990s suggested a more precise date 'immediately after the battle of Actium, *c.* 30–20 BC'. They saw Eurycles as the driving force behind the project.[65] It might then be asked why Pausanias, who thought that the theatre was 'worth seeing',[66] did not identify Eurycles (or anyone else) as the donor. One explanation is that the theatre, in its peculiarly configured first phase, did not have the normal scene-building on which donor inscriptions were often displayed, as, indeed, in a later building phase of the Spartan theatre itself.[67] Another possibility is that a building inscription mentioning Eurycles was erased, and not re-inscribed, after his fall from imperial favour.[68]

The find near the theatre of an inscribed base for a statue of Eurycles certainly does not undercut the case for the close involvement of Eurycles with the new theatre.[69] Nor does a neglected find from the theatre in the 1920s, when earlier British excavators discovered an unusual marble base in the form of a miniature ship 1.20 metres in length, with cuttings amidships for the feet of a statue, 'not much less than life-sized' (Figure 3). The monument was esteemed enough in antiquity to have been repaired with a metal clamp after the stern through some mishap was fractured. The published illustration shows a hull which ended at the prow in a projection on the waterline, evidently a ram, and at the other end in a curved poop,

[65] Waywell, Wilkes and Walker 1998: 99–100, 103; Waywell and Wilkes 1999: 440 ('*c.* 20 BC'); Waywell and Walker 2001: 288.

[66] Paus. 3.14.1. [67] As pointed out by Bulle 1937: 36–7.

[68] See the following note. Cp. the erasure in the donor inscription from the Messenian gymnasium for C. Iulius Spartiaticus, the grandson of Eurycles who fell from favour under Nero: *SEG* 45.306; 46.413; *AÉ* 1998: no. 1253; Kantiréa 2007: 164–5 (reprinting the text).

[69] Given a provisional publication in *RP* 1 LAC 461, [6a]. The name of Eurycles had been erased and re-inscribed.



Figure 3 Marble ship-base from the Augustan theatre, Sparta.

now broken off. The depiction is one of a warship, albeit simplified, with no indication of the motive power; for the hull, one might compare the two triremes depicted on a relief from Puteoli dated to the first century BC. The publisher of the Spartan base, Arthur Woodward, was no doubt correct to suggest that the missing statue represented Nike or Victory. The monument, that is, was a variant on a traditional type of Hellenistic commemoration of a naval victory, in the form of warship prows serving as bases for statues of Victory.[70]

Woodward was at a loss as to both date and context. More recently Mario Torelli proposed to see here a monument celebrating Eurycles and his role at Actium.[71] In fact, the archaeological date of the theatre almost compels the Actian context. Ships, or parts of ships, were very much a part of the Augustan commemoration of this victory, both officially and also in public and private monuments in cities outside Rome. One of these official monuments was on Greek soil and certainly familiar to the Augustan leader of Sparta – the campsite trophy of Octavian overlooking his new city of Nicopolis, with its row of *rostra* or ships' beaks.[72] The dashing role of Eurycles in the sea battle cemented his friendship with Augustus and was the foundation of his hegemonic position at Sparta. Eurycles had excellent

[70] Woodward 1928–30: 208 with fig. 19; Casson 1971: figs. 129 and 131 (Puteoli relief); Johnston 1985: 100–3, 116–17.

[71] Musti and Torelli 1992: 211.

[72] Zanker 1988: 82–5. Nicopolis: see ch. 1.

reasons for placing a permanent memorial to Actium before the eyes of the Spartans in such a conspicuous spot. There can be little doubt that he was responsible for setting up this victory trophy.

The Roman connections of Eurycles help to explain the use of Roman building techniques in the theatre. The overall design and execution of the cavea has been characterised as Greek, but the combined use of mudbrick and concrete in the foundations reveals Roman influence.[73] In addition the 'stage-building store' or *skanothēkē* – of which more shortly – was built in mortared courses of fired brick. This Roman building technique was quite new to Sparta and, indeed, was only just appearing in Augustan Rome. Its precocious appearance at Sparta (and elsewhere in Augustan Greece: see Chapter 5) may have been symbolic as well as practical. Generally the adoption of Roman building styles and techniques in the east has been attributed to 'the impulse in the commission to replicate what had been seen or reported in some Italian city, most likely Rome'.[74]

Above all, the Romanity of the theatre emerges in what was undoubtedly the most remarkable feature of its original design. Instead of a permanent stage, as would be expected in a Greek theatre at this date, the original stage 'could be drawn sideways out of sight into the west parodos', where it was housed in the 'stage-building store' just mentioned. Confirmation of these peculiar arrangements, first suspected by the German archaeologist Wilhelm Dörpfeld in 1927, had to await the renewed excavations of the British School in 1992–8. Finds in situ of more grooved blocks from the three 'rails' of the trackway leave in no doubt that the old theory of a movable stage is correct.[75] The spacing of these 'rails' suggests that the structure was probably wooden and moved on rollers, and that it featured a 'relatively narrow raised stage', backed by a wider scene-building, as found in Greek theatres of late-Hellenistic date. The inspiration for these arrangements probably came – once more – from first-century BC Rome, where temporary wooden theatres, expression of a traditional Roman opposition to theatricals on moral grounds, still lingered in use under Augustus.[76]

The interpretation of this unusual feature suggests that the Augustan resonances of the new theatre went well beyond building materials. To date the only attempt to explain the rolling stage remains that of Heinrich

[73] Waywell and Walker 2001: 288.

[74] MacMullen 2000: 21. Thus in Hadrianic Sagalassus, use of fired brick in a library funded by a local notable has been understood as a deliberate assertion of his 'Romanitas': Waelkens 2002: 349.

[75] Waywell, Wilkes and Walker 1998: 103–6; Waywell and Wilkes 1999; Waywell and Walker 2001: 294.

[76] Waywell and Wilkes 1999: 452. Resistance: Gruen 1993: 205–10.

Bulle. Published in 1937, his study was based on the finds of the first British excavations, supplemented by his own investigations in 1935. It not only set out in detail for the first time the hypothesis – since confirmed – of a sliding stage, but also offered a historical context for this arrangement, one which returns this discussion to Roman Sparta's commemoration of the Persian Wars. An important passage in Pausanias provides the key:[77]

> Opposite the theatre stands the funerary monument (*mnēma*) of Pausanias who commanded at Plataea, and that of Leonidas; Pausanias brought his bones home from Thermopylae forty years after the battle. Every year they make speeches about them, and hold games in which only Spartans can enter. There is a stone tablet here with the names of all the men who fought out that battle, and their patronymics. (Paus. 3.14.1 transl. P. Levi with adjustments)

The chronology of these monuments is uncertain, since they have never been found.[78] Doubts have been expressed over their antiquity, and that of the memorial celebrations which Pausanias describes.[79] The festival known to Pausanias is otherwise attested only in Spartan inscriptions, all later than Augustus. Its shorthand name was 'the Leonidea'. The athletic events which Pausanias mentions no doubt took place on Roman Sparta's race track, the so-called Dromos.[80] The central event of the Leonidea was the commemoration of the dead by ceremonial oratory. A later Spartan inscription for a victor in 'the *epitaphios* (*agōn*) for [Leonidas] and Pausan[ias and the] other heroes' confirms that the Leonidea were conceived as funerary games. Hence it is possible that the oratorical model was the prestigious Athenian *epitaphios* or public speech for citizens who fell in battle, a genre still remembered in Augustan times, or, alternatively, a reading or readings, as with the annual reading of the funeral speech in Plato's *Menexenus* at the Athenian festival of the Epitaphia.[81] Pausanias' reference to 'speeches' (*logoi*) in the plural might seem to suggest more than one speaker. In that case, it is possible to imagine an event in the Greek agonistic tradition of contests for show (epideictic) orators, with praise-speeches of the kind

[77] Bulle 1937: esp. 23–34.

[78] The traditional 'tomb of Leonidas', a Hellenistic structure several hundred metres to the south, is too far away to be described as 'opposite': rightly Musti and Torelli 1991: 211–12.

[79] See Clairmont 1983: 115–16, 8B and 294 n. 94.

[80] Paus. 3.14.6. *IG* v, 1, 19; 658, 12–14.

[81] *IG* v, 1, 660. Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 2.16.1–2 (superiority of the Roman funeral eulogy to the Athenian *epitaphios*). Cic. *Orat.* 151. The change of tenses in this passage (. . . *in populari contione, qua mos est Athenis laudari in contione eos qui sint in proeliis interfecti; quae sic probata est, ut eam quotannis, ut scis, illo die recitari necesse sit*) makes it uncertain whether Cicero refers to an Athenian practice maintained in his own day, as has been thought (Robertson 1986: 92). Diod. Sic. 11.11.6 preserves a poem in memory of Thermopylae by Simonides, which some have linked to an early date for the commemoration of Leonidas at Sparta: Clairmont 1983: 116 and 294 n. 96.

which inscriptions call an encomium (*egkōmion*), of which more shortly.[82] Finally, the text of Pausanias applies the restriction to Spartans to the games, not the speeches. It may be, therefore, that speakers from outside Sparta performed on these occasions.

Since the monuments for Pausanias and Leonidas have not been located, their exact distance from the theatre is unknown: but they were close enough for Pausanias to be struck by the relationship. For Bulle, this relationship explained the imperative need for a sliding stage. Reasonably enough, he assumed that the speeches took place in the vicinity of the heroes whom they eulogised: on these occasions the spectators would sit in the theatre and look out onto the memorials, near which would stand the speaker on his platform. That is, the conventional function of a Greek theatre by this date, as the setting for musical and dramatic events, was secondary to a 'political–patriotic' purpose.[83] Echoes of this same, original, Augustan purpose can be heard in the use of the theatre – as it happens, attested only in Antonine times – for another 'traditional' spectacle, the tournament of the ball-players (*sphaireis*), a team game with military overtones that went back to Classical times.[84] The hypothesis of Bulle is accepted here as the most likely explanation for the peculiar stage-arrangements of the Augustan theatre. These only make sense if the prime concern was to allow, on certain occasions, an unobstructed view of the space immediately beyond the stage area.

The new theatre was not exclusively intended for 'heritage' events, as shown by the movable stage itself. Under Augustus, no cyclical programme of musical or dramatic contests is known for sure at Sparta. But Eurycles can confidently be seen as the founder of Sparta's chief imperial festival, the Caesarea, even if these are first attested, as it happens, only under the Flavians. They might normally be expected to include such events, although the actual evidence so far attests athletic contests only.[85] That the Spartans did indeed gather in their splendid new theatre under Augustus at local festivals of the imperial cult is suggested by the two bases for statues of Gaius and Lucius Caesar found there, which seem to have been set up posthumously by the city *c.* AD 2, and by the discovery near the theatre of an altar to Augustus. At nearby Gytheum the theatre was used under Tiberius for the same purpose of staging the imperial cult.[86]

[82] Robertson 1986: 93. [83] Bulle 1937: 35–6.
[84] Luc. *Anach.* 38; cp. Xen. *Lac. Pol.* 9.5; Kennell 1995: esp. 59–63, 133; Crowther 2004: 368.
[85] Cartledge and Spawforth 2002: 232, Appendix 4, 1.
[86] *SEG* 11.761–2. The posthumous date is suggested by the past tense of *diateteleken* in the honorific formula. For Eurycles and the Caesarea see Hupfloher 2000: 168–70, 173–4 (theatre). Eurycles and

Bulle assumed that the speeches at the Leonidea dated back to the alleged return of the remains of Leonidas from Thermopylae, which Pausanias dates *c.* 440 BC, that the festival fell into disuse in Hellenistic times, to which he dated alleged remains of an older stage building in stone on the same site, and that it was resuscitated by Eurycles. This reconstruction is highly speculative, not to say improbable in part. The latest excavations in the theatre have not reported any trace of the Hellenistic predecessor adduced by Bulle.[87] Above all, the notion of Spartan orators in the fifth century BC is totally anachronistic. 'As for a Spartan orator, I have never down to the present day heard of one.' As late as 46 BC Cicero, who knew the Greece of his day well, Sparta included, could make this claim.[88] Cicero cannot be used to show, of course, that a rhetorical education was not available to young Spartans by this date: an unlikely proposition. Equally, the passage does not encourage the view that speaking Spartans, either as orator–politicians, show orators or teaching professionals, had made a mark outside their native city in late Hellenistic times. Then again, oratory at the Leonidea is unlikely to have predated the appearance of orators more generally in the programmes of Greek festivals: '[t]he evidence, such as it is, tends to confirm that epideictic activity (at these festivals) began in the second and first centuries BC, and that, to a significant extent, it was focused on Rome'.[89] Thus in Greece by the first century BC contests in oratory, in the form of prose encomia, are found in festivals in Oropus and Acraephia.[90] The combination of this broad development with the specific statement of Cicero does nothing to undercut the hypothesis that the Leonidea speeches were introduced at a date no earlier than the late first century BC. Despite the lack of evidence, in origin the Leonidea may have been older. The view put forward here is that Eurycles, at a minimum, refounded this festival and updated its character, if he did not in fact create it from scratch, as part of a larger plan to breathe new life into the Spartan celebration of the Persian Wars.

the Spartan imperial cult: Kantiréa 2007: 161 (supposing that Eurycles was the first Spartan priest of Augustus). Altar: *IG* v, 1, 373. Gytheum: *SEG* 11.923 cited by Price 1984: 109; text reprinted by Kantiréa 2007: 204–5 no. 2a.

87 Hdt. 6.67 (491 BC); Plut. *Ages.* 29 (371 BC). Waywell, Wilkes and Walker 1998: 98; Waywell and Walker 2001: 292 ('traces of any earlier theatre on the hillside may well have been obliterated'). It is not clear how the latest excavations interpret the 'early wall' which Bulle 1937: 35 took as evidence of his pre-Augustan stage-building.

88 Cic. *Brut.* 13.49–50: *Quis enim aut Argivum oratorem aut Corinthium aut Thebanum scit fuisse temporibus illis* [sc. Classical Greece]*? Nisi quid de Epaminonda docto homine suspicari libet. Lacedaemonium vero usque ad hoc tempus audivi fuisse neminem.*

89 Hardie 1983: 97. 90 Hardie 1983: 98.

The choice of athletics and oratory as the media for this Spartan celebration chimes well with the Augustan age. As we shall see in Chapter 4, official remembering of the Persian Wars was accompanied by imperial signalling of support for Greek athletics. This probably had the effect, and perhaps intention, of affirming their alleged origins in Greek training for war. As for the speeches, Roman and Greek oratory was going through an innovative phase marked by significant developments in both style and performance context, as seen earlier. I have already argued that the Agrippeum and its classicising setting were meant to create a Classical and a martial mood for declamations recalling the victories of Classical Greece. According to a tradition which Vitruvius thought worthy of record, Themistocles roofed the original odeum ('of Pericles') with 'masts and yardarms' from the captured Persian ships.[91] In the poem by Geminus quoted earlier, the poet describes these Persian timbers as 'tokens (*sumbola*) of a barbarian fleet destroyed'. Agrippa may well have sought to transfer these Persian Wars reminiscences of the original odeum – as they were understood in Augustan times – to his new Agrippeum. The speeches at the Leonidea formed part of this same cultural impetus, with Eurycles of Sparta once more playing the role of local interpreter of Augustan ideology. In favour of this scenario a further two factors can be adduced.

Firstly, the Persian Wars formed a popular theme for declamations of the *suasoria*-type in Augustan and Tiberian Rome. The elder Seneca mentions two: 'The three hundred Spartans sent against Xerxes, when the contingents from each of the Greek cities had fled, deliberate whether they too should flee', and 'The Athenians deliberate whether they should remove the trophies of their victories over the Persians, since Xerxes threatens that he will return if they are not removed.' The first was particularly popular: Seneca mentions treatments by twelve different declaimers, of whom nine offered eulogies of Spartan *virtus*, among them Cestius Pius from Smyrna. The Athenian theme may have been less popular, since Seneca mentions only three treatments, none of them so obvious in their praises of Athenian military prowess. This seems to confirm that in Rome educated people really did see *arma* as the special province of the Spartans, as in the *sententia* of Cestius Pius with which Chapter 2 opened.[92] Modern research sees this emerging sphere of public declamation at Rome as a site for the 'construction of key values' by the elite and non-elite alike as speakers, auditors and discussants.[93] The themes themselves are no longer dismissed

[91] Vitr. 5.9.1, discussed by Schäfer 1998: 99–100.
[92] Sen. *Suas.* 2.5.
[93] Corbeill 2004, reviewing Gunderson 2003.

as 'fantastical': they 'may speak more closely to Roman concerns than is often allowed'. The declamatory denunciations of Roman immorality and their exaltation of female modesty have already been noted. Recently, Elvira Migliario has argued that flattering treatments of Cicero by the declaimers reflect the rehabilitation of the orator's reputation under Augustus.[94]

With the emergence of schools of rhetoric in republican Rome the Persian Wars theme was already familiar to educated Romans: Cicero makes clear that in his day the examples of character provided by the heroes of 'Marathon, Salamis, Plataea, Thermopylae and Leuctra' were stock fare among the teachers of rhetoric.[95] This helps to explain the familiarity of the later declaimers at Rome with the general theme. But there is every reason to think that its currency in the capital was linked to the use made of the Persian Wars theme in Augustan ideology. Alignment with this ideology mattered if the opportunities for career advancement which public declamation offered for people who were non-aristocratic or even non-Roman by birth were to be fully realised.[96]

Secondly, the fact is that these 'non-Romans' taking part in the declamatory scene of Augustan Rome were Greeks. This was a scene which (to repeat) was bilingual and involved a level of 'reciprocal acculturation' ('acculturazione reciproca') between Greek and Latin intellectuals in the last decades BC.[97] Among those already encountered in these pages are the only two who can be identified as coming from 'old Greece'. It is surely no coincidence that their home cities were, respectively, Athens (Pammenes (III), tentatively identified here as one of the 'new declaimers') and Sparta (Nicocrates '*Lacedaemonius*'). This book has already made clear that Athens and Sparta were exposed to the full glare of Augustan ideology in a way which was not true of other provincial cities in either the east or, indeed, the west. The Greek declaimer Pammenes, if the identification proposed in Chapter 2 is correct, came from a leading Athenian family with a strongly Roman political orientation and with a prior history of deploying its eloquence in the service of Rome (in the person of the elder Pammenes, teacher of Brutus).

As for Nicocrates, he has already been mentioned in relation to a Spartan inscription in which the daughter of a Nicocrates appears with the children of Eurycles in the years around 20 BC. The name is neither rare nor common at Sparta, although, unlike 'Pammenes' at Athens in this period, it cannot be

[94] Hardie 2007: 134–5. Migliario 2008: esp. 81 and 87–8.
[95] Wardman 1976: 81, citing Cic. *Off.* 1.18.61: *Hinc rhetorum campus de Marathone, Salamine, Plataeis, Thermopylis, Leuctris* . . .
[96] Migliario 2008: 84. [97] Migliario 2008: 86–7.

linked with a particular leading family over several generations.[98] The local epigraphy at least reveals the possibilities. Here is an Augustan Nicocrates attested in an elite context alongside the families of Eurycles, friend of the princeps, and of the sons of Lysinicus, one of whom went on to father Damosthenea, who *could* have been the Spartan sister-in-law of the declaimer Pammenes (III). Since all the children were very young, this Nicocrates at the time might have been a youthful father still in his twenties or thirties: plenty of years left to make a name for himself as an orator at home before moving on to Rome later in the reign or under Tiberius. It is unlikely to be mere coincidence that in Rome Nicocrates '*Lacedaemonius*' is cited by the elder Seneca as an auditor and discussant of declamations on the theme of Leonidas and Thermopylae. Seneca mentions the acerbic opinion of Nicocrates, whom he seems to have known personally, about the speech on this theme of a Greek declaimer called Dorio: 'he used to say that this argument would have been noteworthy if it had been halved'. This laconising sentiment complements the dry style of speaking with which Seneca credits Nicocrates, who clearly could not be charged with 'Asianism'.[99] As with Pammenes (III), we have here, I would argue, the sort of declaimer for whom the Agrippeum, at least in part, was built – and the sort of subject-matter which its martial setting complemented. In Nicocrates we can recognise the type of the first performers of Persian Wars material in the annual *logoi* at the Leonidea: an event which Nicocrates himself perhaps helped to establish.

The use of the theatre for this purpose may have been relatively short-lived. Bulle's excavation suggested to him that the movable stage had been destroyed in a fire no earlier than the reign of Tiberius. On the assumption that the theatre would not have been left without a stage for any length of time, this destruction probably occurred close to AD 78, when the theatre was equipped with its first fixed scene-building, built of stone and presumably the successor of the sliding stage.[100] Presumably it was now acceptable for speakers to perform on this new stage against a stone *scaenae frons*. By this date, the ideological 'purism' which under

[98] *LGPN* 3A s.v. Nicocrates lists twelve individuals from Laconia.

[99] *. . . aiebat Nicocrates Lacedaemonius insignem hanc sententiam futuram fuisse, si media intercideretur*: Sen. *Suas.* 2.22, of the theme of the Spartans at Thermopylae; *Contr.* 7.5.15 (*aridus et exucus declamator*), apropos the *controversia* themed on the blind mother who would not let her son go. Bornecque 1967: 182–3 ('un declamateur sec'). Nothing else is known of this Dorio, although the name appears in an elite context in Augustan Athens: see the archon Areus son of Dorio of *IG* ii², 2338 (*SEG* 30.120).

[100] Bulle 1937: 14. *IG* v, 1, 691. Waywell and Wilkes 1999: 144. Waywell and Walker 2001: 294 suggest a link between a new stage building and 'the development of Roman civic institutions', with reference to the fall of the Euryclid dynasty under Nero.

Augustus had insisted on the tombs being in sight of the theatre audience no longer burned so fiercely: an inverse testimony to the sort of atmosphere at Augustan Sparta which produced, not only the sliding stage, but also, as argued in the last chapter, the 'extreme' form of the whipping.

These later developments in the Spartan theatre prompt reflection on the 'windmill' model proposed by this book. The Augustan regime did the initial work of constructing its official narrative of Hellenism, installing cultural machinery which remained operative throughout the principate because this narrative built on key Roman values. However, the ideological wind from imperial Rome blew sometimes hotter, sometimes colder, as emperors and central priorities changed. There was probably never again such an intense compulsion for 'moral rearmament' as there had been under Augustus. As we shall see, the strength of the Augustan gusts would really only come close to being repeated under Hadrian, in the wake of whose reign Pausanias found the Leonidea flourishing. Before Hadrian there had been lesser puffs. One of these may have powered the Spartan impulse to raise the prestige of the Leonidea in the early years of the second century AD, when C. Iulius Agesilaus, a local magnate, created an endowment to pay for the doubling of the prizes in the games. It was precisely in these years that the campaigns of Trajan against, first, the Dacians, and then the Parthians, returned the theme of victory over barbarians to prominence at imperial Rome.[101]

PLATAEA

In Roman times the battlefield of Plataea and its environs – relatively accessible to the ancient visitor from Corinth or Athens – were the setting for an 'incredibly dense network of ritual activity' evolved over the centuries around the trophies, the tombs and the sanctuaries which had come to mark this most famous of the land battles of the Persian Wars.[102] We saw earlier how the text of Vitruvius reveals the interest of Augustan culture in Plataea as a Greek paradigm for the punishment of barbarian pride. The earliest specific link between Plataea and Rome is the pair of massive tripods

[101] Trajan: note Schneider 1986: 161–5 on the barbarian statues from (probably) the Forum of Trajan. Agesilaus: *IG* v, 1, 18–20. See Cartledge and Spawforth 2002: 192–3. Birley 1997b: 239–40 down-dated the term of Agesilaus as athlothete of another Spartan festival, called *Ourania Sebasteia Nerouanidea* (*IG* v, 1, 667), normally dated to AD 97 or 98. He argued that *Nerouanidea* was a patronymic form and meant sons or descendants of Nerva, making this festival Trajanic or even later. However, 'Nerouanidea', meaning 'festival for Nerva', is a term comparable with well-known games for the local deity Eros at Thespiae, the Erotideia (thus *AÉ* 1997: no. 1376).

[102] Quotation from Alcock 2002: 80.

supported by kneeling barbarians in coloured marble which, on the art-historical reconstruction of Schneider, Augustus set up respectively in Rome and Athens to mark his 'victory' over the Parthians in 21 BC. As Schneider argues, this form deliberately referenced a Classical Greek tradition of tripod dedications marking Greek victories over eastern barbarians. The most famous of these tripods was the monumental thanks-offering of the Greeks to Apollo set up in his sanctuary at Delphi after their victory at Plataea, and still to be seen there under the principate.[103]

Evidence of a heightened Greek awareness of the symbolism of Plataea at precisely this point in the reign of Augustus can be read into an inscription from Didyma which records with striking fulsomeness the victories of a Milesian athlete around 20 BC 'at the Eleutherian festival in Plataea celebrated by the *koinon* of the Greeks, in both the men's stade race and in the race in armour from the trophy, becoming the first and only (Greek) from Asia to be proclaimed "Best of the Greeks"'.[104] The Eleutherian festival was a long-established panhellenic festival, held every four years. It honoured Zeus Eleutherius, protector of the freedom (*eleutheria*) from barbarian dominion which the victory on this spot had secured for the Greeks of former times. The programme is thought to have incorporated a specific act of commemoration of the fallen.[105] The pride of this Milesian victor stemmed above all from his victory in the Plataean race in armour which started at the battle-trophy and finished at the altar of Zeus Eleutherius. This race commemorated the feat of the athlete Euchidas, who ran to Delphi and back in one day to fetch fire for the Plataean altars after the victory. It was the core event of the festival, the one to which the games owed their prominence in imperial times. It was an exceptional victory in this quasi-military discipline which seems to have conferred the Plataean title 'Best of the Greeks' (*Aristos Hellēnōn*).[106]

The renewed relevance of this race in armour in early-Augustan times, hinted at in the inscription from Didyma, is supported by evidence from Athens and Sparta for an honorific novelty: local notables who had won the Plataean title as youthful athletes would continue to sport it publicly in later life as a badge of esteem. The earliest of these instances is that of the Athenian Ti. Claudius Novius, a Plataean victor late in the reign of Augustus or early under Tiberius, and later so prominent in civic life as to be almost the 'governor' of his native city.[107] Novius is an Athenian figure

[103] Schneider 1986: esp. 58–61. Paus. 9.2.4. [104] Moretti 1953: no. 59, lines 6–10.
[105] Jung 2006: 317 n. 68; 344–51 for the Eleutherian games in Roman times.
[106] Plut. *Arist.* 20.4–6 with Jung 2006: 349. Alcock 2002: 80–1.
[107] *IG* ii², 1990 (an ephebic catalogue) with Jung 2006: 350. 'Governor': Kantiréa 2007: 176.

of such Romanity that his flaunting of the title as an adult should certainly have had a Roman resonance.

In old age Novius took the lead in asserting the ideological association between Nero's Armenian campaign and the old Persian victories, by sponsoring a monumental inscription for Nero on the main façade of the Parthenon and, as 'high-priest' of Nero and Zeus Eleutherius at Plataea, overseeing the introduction of the worship of Nero into the traditional rites for the Plataean Zeus.[108] This Greek association of Zeus Eleutherius with a Roman emperor confronting eastern enemies probably goes back to Augustus. Archaeologically an Augustan date looks the most likely for the conversion of the fifth-century BC Stoa of Zeus Eleutherius in the Athenian agora into an imperial shrine. Under the influence of the Plataean cult, by the early fourth century BC the Zeus of this Stoa had already been identified by the Athenians with Zeus Eleutherius. Inside the Stoa the Roman emperor was represented by a larger-than-life-size standing statue which stood in a new annexe to the rear. His name can be persuasively restored on the inscribed base as that of Augustus. Maria Kantiréa has reasonably argued that the particular point of this cultic act, carried out in the name of the Athenian People, was to assimilate the victory of Augustus over the Parthians in 21 BC to those of the Persian Wars.[109]

Returning to the race in armour, the reign of Augustus can be associated with the development of a more positive strand in the complex of Roman attitudes to Greek athletics.[110] Imperial initiatives contributed to raising the cultural standing of Greek athletics by according them public respect, especially the Augustan restoration of Olympia and the Olympic games, an initiative more wide-reaching than is commonly believed (Chapter 4). The imperial celebration of the Persian Wars obliquely elevated the brand of ancestral Greek masculinity which achieved the great victories. This in turn invited reconsideration of the value of athletics as a training for war, something which the Greeks themselves had long debated. A connection between athletics and warfare was certainly made in Classical times, and there are grounds for thinking that the early introduction at Olympia of running races reflected military influence.[111] The case for a military purpose ('imitations and exercises for battle') is restated at some length by Plutarch, arguing that 'in the foot race one practises the art of fleeing the battlefield and of pursuing those who do so' and that the place of the race in hoplite armour after all the other events on the programme proves that military

[108] *IG* ii², 1990.3–6. Jung 2006: 360–8. [109] Kantiréa 2007: 119–23 with earlier bibliography.
[110] Roman attitudes: see now Goldhill 2001b: 1–2; König 2005: 205–12.
[111] Golden 1998: 23–8. Instone 2007: 78–9.

fitness is the aim of exercise and competition.[112] This kind of argument may have become topical when the official ideology, by honouring the ancestral Greek victories over Persia, tempered, in some quarters, the traditional Roman negativity about Greek martial skills and Greek athletics. [113] Changing attitudes explain why Novius saw no incompatibility between his Roman ambitions and a youthful career in Greek athletics. This public athleticism must have enjoyed legitimacy in the early-imperial society in which Novius moved as the friend or client of prominent Romans. Imperial affirmation and the social acceptance which it promoted help to explain the broader phenomenon of athleticism among the imperial-Greek elites as an activity compatible with the Roman citizenship which, from the time of Claudius, eastern notables increasingly possessed.[114] The ephebic training in civic gymnasia on which this athleticism was based retained a military element in the principate despite criticisms by Greek writers – criticisms which themselves are hard to evaluate, however, since they are likely to be coloured precisely by Roman stereotypes about Greeks.[115]

In sum, it is likely that the age of Augustus saw a renaissance in the ceremonies at Plataea prompted by the place of the Persian Wars in official ideology. Against this background, there is one other innovation at Plataea requiring a re-evaluation, as to date, character and historical context: the introduction of an oratorical competition, the so-called arbitration or *dialogos*.

A verse inscription from the Athenian Asclepieum praises an Athenian called Pythocles in the following terms:

> Pallas (Athena) watched him, namesake of Phoebus Apollo, as he gained the palm of victory for the descendants of Cecrops, at the time when the Spartan and the Athenian people were in contest, and the sons of the Greeks raised the vote not for the men of Sparta, but laid the illustrious crown of victory on most glorious Atthis (etc.).[116]

Noel Robertson in a ground-breaking study showed that Pythocles, the subject of this text, must have won the same event as the one which is named in four catalogues of Athenian ephebes from the second century AD as the '*dialogos* in Plataea', an occasion which the ephebes attended, perhaps helping to award the prize, and in return received a distribution of money. He also showed that this same event was referred to in the writings of Dio of Prusa, Lucian and Hermogenes as a (recurrent) dispute between

[112] Plut. *Mor.* 639e–f. [113] Roman attitudes to Greeks as soldiers: Petrochilos 1974: 93–8, 177–82.
[114] For the phenomenon: van Nijf 1999 and 2001; Elsner 2001. [115] As seen by König 2005: 57–8.
[116] *SEG* 36.252 (= *IG* ii², 3189 Addenda).

Athens and Sparta over precedence in the procession (*propompeia*), settled by means of oratory. Finally he identified a fragment of the text of one of these speeches in another Athenian inscription.[117] The indications, taken together, show that this contest between orators speaking respectively for Athens and Sparta took place at Plataea every four years in the presence of an assembly, the aforementioned 'council of the Greeks', along with Athenian and probably Spartan ephebes, and that the outcome settled the leadership of the inaugural procession at the forthcoming celebration of the Eleutheria. Although the literary evidence all belongs to the imperial age, the fragmentary speech and the Pythocles epigram are currently dated to the late second century BC, a dating which has been followed by other scholars, including most recently Michael Jung. Robertson claimed that the institution of the *dialogos* belonged to this period and that it was a product of a nostalgic atmosphere at the time in both Athens, for which there is some evidence, and Sparta, where it is hypothesised.[118]

Further consideration is now given to the chronology of the two Athenian inscriptions on which Robertson based this dating of the creation of the *dialogos*. In the case of the fragmentary speech, he followed its previous editor, Wilhelm Dittenberger, who in turn followed the editor before him, Ulrich Köhler. No judgement about date has ever been made on the basis of the stone itself, which is lost, but only of the letter-forms as represented in transcriptions, one by Karl Müller, the basis for the majuscule texts in the editions by August Boeckh in 1838 and Köhler in 1888, the other by an unknown hand, which ended up via the Stackelberg papers in the German Archaeological Institute in Berlin, where it still existed before the Second World War. Müller's transcription was sufficiently unhelpful for Boeckh, after noting broken-bar alpha, to suggest a date after Alexander but 'how long after, I would not say'. It was Köhler in 1908, for no stated reason, who gave the date as 'scarcely more recent than the end of the second century (BC)', which Dittenberger merely followed. All that can be emphasised is the extreme fragility of this judgement. Robertson noted the uncertainty of the date thus arrived at; more recently, Jung conceded that the dating is 'extraordinarily difficult'.[119]

[117] *IG* ii², 2788 = *SEG* 36.237. Chaniotis 1988: 42–8; Jung 2006: 355–9.

[118] Robertson 1986: 101: '. . . it is after 146 BC, when Sparta as well as Athens was an acknowledged friend of Rome, when the Athenians revived and cultivated old traditions, when the Spartans must have done the same (in view of Sparta's condition under the early Empire), that the time seems most propitious for the custom to emerge'.

[119] Dittenberger: *IG* ii², 2788; Boeckh: *CIG* 1.127; Köhler: *IG* ii, 5, 4322. Robertson 1986: 97; Jung 2006: 355 with n. 50 ('ausserordentlich schwierig').

The other inscription, the epigram honouring Pythocles, has also proved difficult to date. The poem is one of a pair cut side by side on the same stone, found in the Athenian Asclepieum, where it had been reused in the second century AD as an offering table. The first poem, as restored by Werner Peek, identifies Pythocles as an Athenian politician of some prominence, since it compares him to Zeus, judge of the heavens, and Solon, author of the ancestral good order (*eunomia*) of the Athenians, and praises him for laying down 'rules of justice' (*kanonas dikaiosunas*). The second is translated above. Neither epigram has any textual indicator of date, for which the letter-forms must suffice. After a partial publication by Johannes Kirchner in 1935, based on an initial publication by Stephanos Koumanoudes which overlooked the first epigram and included only two lines of the second, Peek restudied the stone and produced new readings, along with a good photograph of the second epigram. This image makes clear that, as Peek notes in his text, the lettering is hard to read, both from its tiny size (between 0.5 and 0.7 cm in height) and from the cracked and water-damaged state of the stone. Kirchner had assigned the second inscription to the period of direct Macedonian rule over Athens (roughly the third quarter of the third century BC). Peek used the letter-forms to argue for a somewhat lower date at the end of the third or beginning of the second century BC, while contemplating an identification of Pythocles which would place the epigrams in the years 186–146 BC. Robertson therefore concluded, reasonably, that '[t]he dating assigned to the letter forms does not seem to be secure or agreed' or 'to inspire confidence', adding: 'From Peek's description of the tiny, crowded lettering one suspects that [the inscription] was nearly as hard to date as it was to read.' He then adduced three Athenian magistrates with the name 'Pythocles', the latest dated 'perhaps' to 128/7 BC, in support of a date in the later second century BC; however, there remained, he conceded, 'some uncertainty'. Without even a patronymic for this bearer of a common Athenian name (the *Lexicon of Greek Personal Names* lists forty-five instances), Robertson's prosopographical suggestions are, really, just that. Although the name Pythocles is well attested among the magistrates of Hellenistic Athens, it continued in use among Athenians of Roman times. [120] As for the more distinctive of the letter-forms reported by Peek, the splayed mu, pi with unequal legs and alpha with a straight bar can all be paralleled in the photographs of Athenian inscriptions of Augustan date in Graindor's album.[121] One might hesitate over the splayed

[120] *IG* ii², 3189 + Addenda. Peek 1938. Robertson 1986: 99–101. Jung 2006: 3.

[121] Peek 1938: 15. Graindor 1924: esp. plates 4 (straight-bar alpha, splayed mu) and 8 (2nd and 6th lines from top: pi with unequal legs).

legs of sigma as reported by Peek, but examination of his photograph shows examples where the legs are more or less parallel.[122] It cannot be overlooked, finally, that Athenian letter-cutters in Roman times, not least under Augustus, were capable of producing archaising letter-forms where these supported the content of the text.[123] On grounds of letter-forms, then, the orator Pythocles could be significantly later than the second century BC.

To this palaeographical *aporia* must be added historical grounds for unease over the current dating of this Pythocles and of the inscribed speech discussed previously. Other innovations in the Plataean rituals have a clear historical context: a renewal in the era of Greek struggle against Antigonid Macedon, and a powerful imperial ideology under Augustus and the Julio-Claudians. It is hard to identify the outside threat to Greece in the later second century BC which could stir memories of the Greek struggle against the Persians. There is the difficulty of imagining a pool of show orators existing at Sparta as early as the second century BC. As we saw, Cicero claimed never to have heard of a Spartan orator. This claim has a particular force in relation to Pythocles, who apparently was an orator–politician from the Athenian office-holding stratum, not a teaching professional: it is reasonable, therefore, to suppose that his Spartan counterpart came from a similar background. There is the reduction of the dispute over precedence to a duel between Athens and Sparta, whereas Herodotus says that in the actual battle the Spartans fought best, with the men of Tegea and Athens sharing second place.[124] The narrow focus on Athens and Sparta looks decidedly Roman and the exclusion of Tegea, punished for siding with Antony (see Chapter 5), specifically Augustan. There is also the nature of the contest itself. Angelos Chaniotis has shown that the fragmentary Athenian speech presupposes an orator who spoke in the person of Athens. A speech of this sort belongs to the variety of declamation known technically as *prosopopoeia*, in which the speaker impersonates someone or something else and which, as Quintilian states, could give voice to 'cities and even peoples'.[125] Indeed, the whole character of the *dialogos* evokes the milieu of public declamation:

[122] Peek 1938: plate 1.1, as in *eiside* (line 1); *klōnas* (line 2).

[123] See Graindor 1924: 14 no. 7 and plate vi (the oracle of Harmodius and Aristogiton, for which see ch. 4). For discussion of this kind of archaism, marked under Augustus, and further references see Aleshire in Aleshire and Lambert 2011: 559.

[124] Hdt. 9.71.

[125] Chaniotis 1988: 45, shows from lines 18 and 25 that the speech was given in the first person and in a female character who can only represent the city of Athens (not e.g. the goddess Athena). See the section on *prosōpopoiiai* in Quint. 9.29–37, esp. 31: *Urbes etiam populique vocem accipiunt.*

La suasoire, qui appartient au genre délibératif . . . consiste pour le déclamateur à donner un conseil, à persuader un personnage ou *une assemblée* [my italics] à entreprendre une action ou à y renoncer, à adopter une mesure ou à la rejeter (Van Mal-Maeder 2007: 4)

Not only were the speakers seeking to persuade an assembly of one course of action over another, but similar deliberative themes relating to the Persian Wars are known from the second sophistic, notably a preserved declamation by Antonius Polemo, the Hadrianic orator, on the theme of: 'There being a custom at Athens that the father of the one who died the best death in battle should deliver the funerary oration, the fathers of Callimachus and Cynegirus plead their cases.' This declamation was also a *prosopopoeia*, Polemo speaking first in the voice of Cynegirus, then Callimachus.[126] It does not require a great leap of the imagination to see the rival speeches at the *dialogos* as declamations of the *prosopopoeia* type themed along the lines of: 'After the battle of Plataea the Athenians and Spartans debate who was more deserving of the prize of valour.' According to Plutarch, following the battle of 479 BC the Greek allies disputed the prize of valour (*aristeion*) in a congress: this alleged actuality would then have conferred a kind of historical authority on the rhetorical duel.[127] All the indications are that its founding belonged to a time when Greek oratory was enjoying a creative phase; when there was another surge in memories of the Persian Wars; and to a period which focused exclusively on Athens and Sparta as the Greek protagonists. It is surely no accident that Robertson found the closest parallel to the use of '*dialogos*' in this sense of 'arbitration' in a speech from the age of the second sophistic.[128]

Taking all these points into account, I suggest that the *dialogos* makes best sense as a creation of the Augustan era. At this time there was a gathering fashion for public declamation which the regime (as this book argues) deliberately promoted in Greece. Augustus also shone the cultural spotlight on ancient Athens and ancient Sparta as well as elevating the Persian Wars to a high ideological significance. As for agency, Athens and, almost certainly, Sparta were represented on the 'council of the Greeks' which had overseen the Plataean cults since at least the mid third century BC. Indeed, these cults were effectively controlled by Athens for long periods in Hellenistic and imperial times, the high-priesthood of Novius being the latest symptom of this state of affairs.[129] Despite the fact that no prominent

[126] Text: Reader and Chvala-Smith 1996: 99.
[127] Plut. *Arist.* 19.
[128] Robertson 1986: 95 citing the [Herodes] *peri politeias*.
[129] Jung 2006: 308; Spawforth 1994a: 235–6.

Athenian of the name Pythocles is so far attested in Augustan times, the comparison of an Athenian politician with the great Solon would sit well with Roman admiration of the Athenian lawgiver and with a time when Athens hailed Nicanor as a new Themistocles. Pythocles' political activity, or rather legislative, since he is described as 'laying down rules of justice for the citizens of Pallas' in a manner inviting comparison with the *eunomia* of Solon, is hard to match with any regular magistracy at Athens. It would fit, on the face of things, the irregular post of nomothete, firmly attested in Neronian Athens when it was held by Ti. Claudius Novius, and again under Hadrian.[130] To speculate further would perhaps be unwise, but it seems worth suggesting that Pythocles was active in the local juridical fallout from the serious *stasis* in Athens around AD 13 (see Chapter 6).

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This chapter has tried to show that the reign of Augustus marked a decisive new stage in the long-standing Greek tradition of commemorating the Persian Wars. Under Augustus these wars acquired a new ideological significance as the exemplification of the old *virtus* of Athens and Sparta and as a means of presenting the new master of the Mediterranean as the champion of the age-old struggle to protect civilisation from barbarians. Augustus was probably conscious too of the value of the Persian Wars as a symbol uniting Romans and Greeks against a common foe. A decree of Messene from AD 2 describes the campaign of C. Caesar in the east as a struggle 'on behalf of the safety of all humankind (*anthrōpoi hapantes*)'.[131]

In Greece the 'refreshing'[132] of this tradition involved benefactors closely linked with the imperial regime, whether local (C. Iulius Eurycles) or foreign (C. Iulius Nicanor). Certainly at Athens, these memories could command broad support among the politically active citizenry. At Athens monuments and places of memory associated above all with Salamis were now put back into order as a matter of civic pride but also for sightseers. Athenian stewardship of these locales was to be worthy of the glorious ancestors whom they commemorated. At Sparta the commemoration of Thermopylae and Plataea was given new life through the refurbishment of the Persian Stoa and through a lavish 'renewal' of the festival in honour of the Spartan fallen.

This imperial-Roman recognition of ancient Greek valour was linked to Augustan support for the traditions of Greek athletics, including the race in hoplite armour, the event most obviously military in origin. Another

[130] *IG* ii², 1990 and 3277 (Novius) cited by Geagan 1967: 122–3.
[131] *SEG* 23.206.11–12. See ch. 5 on this inscription.
[132] I owe the expression to Müller 1996: 134.

striking development of this time, if the arguments of this and the previous chapter are accepted, is the rise of exhibition oratory as a way of reliving these past glories. The introduction of public declamation on historical themes in the Agrippeum and at Plataea, at a time when Augustan Rome was the centre of this new genre of public speaking, suggests the western origin of this innovation. There was a paedagogical aspect to this use of oratory, as is clear from the presence of Athenian (and Spartan?) ephebes at the Plataean *dialogos* and of Spartan ephebes at the *logoi* at the Leonidea.

If the Persian Wars had an ideological value for the ruling group of Augustan Rome, athletics, rhetoric and oratory suggest ways in which, in the early principate, this value was reproduced across imperial society at large: not just in Rome or Italy, but also in the provinces. This universalisation did not hinge on actual attendance at commemorations in Greece, even if the presence of visitors at Athens, Sparta and Plataea should not be underestimated.[133] For the educated in both halves of the empire, there were the declamatory exercises on the Persian Wars at school. Coleman has made the point that, at Rome itself, the historical themes of public declamation – including, as we have seen, the Persian Wars – and the irregular restaging of Greek naval battles may have served to spread awareness of Greek history not only among the elites but also to illiterate people for whom sight and sound were the chief media of communication.[134] Scholarly emphasis on the role of Roman declamation in 'constructing key values' and 'doing the kind of social work normally associated with myth' has relevance here, as does the general resemblance in this period between a 'western' and 'eastern' rhetorical education.[135] The Persian Wars, as re-presented by Augustus and subsequent emperors, offered a prestigious precedent for, and legitimation of, the role of the emperor and the imperial state in safeguarding *both* halves of the civilised world from the barbarian.

Returning to the epigrams of *The Garland of Philip*, the collection includes poems by Antipater of Thessalonice, an Augustan poet, on the Spartan mother who kills her cowardly son, on the armed statue of Aphrodite at Sparta, and on the burial place of Themistocles; by Antiphilus of Byzantium (Neronian?) on Xerxes and the corpse of Leonidas; by (Lollius?) Bassus (Tiberian) on the Spartan dead at Thermopylae (twice); by

[133] Note the gathering of Greeks (*Hellēnes sumparontes*) at the annual grave service of the Plataeans in Plutarch's time, Plut. *Mor.* 872f.

[134] Coleman 1993: 70.

[135] Corbeill 2004, reviewing Gunderson 2003. Connolly 2007: 159–61, rightly in my view questioning a modern tendency to see Greek Persian Wars memories in this period as 'compensating for a glorious Greek history now centuries in the past'.

Diodorus (uncertain date) on the tomb of Themistocles (twice); by Erucius (later first century BC) on the Spartan mother who kills her son; by Parmenio (date unknown) on Thermopylae; and by Philip (early imperial) on Xerxes and the corpse of Leonidas.[136] The recurrence of well-worn themes suggests their force as *topoi* as well as the impact of contemporary rhetoric.[137] The theme of the Persian Wars was also popular among Greek history-writers in the later first century AD, as we know from the censure by the Flavian historian Josephus of the learned (*logioi*) Greeks of his day who ignored contemporary events and 'for their own themes take the Assyrian and Median empires, as if the narratives of the ancient historians were not fine enough'.[138]

The imperial state, following the template of the Augustan principate, from time to time fanned this wider interest in the Persian Wars in the early empire by showing its continued place in imperial ideology. Under both Gaius and Nero, the Augustan presentation of Roman relations with eastern enemies as the refighting of old Greek wars was reactivated, as it would be again (with new nuances) under Hadrian (Chapter 6) and later emperors.[139] Well into the second century AD the theme in one way or another preoccupied imperial-Greek literature. The case of Plutarch was noted earlier. Pausanias, the Antonine periegete, is another notable instance. His 'deep engagement' with the Persian Wars and their 'remembrance and commemoration' in Greece were a natural product of his Roman-imperial environment. As with other ancient-seeming rituals in Greece which Pausanias lovingly describes (see Chapter 4), these memories, in the form in which he encountered them in Athens, Sparta, Plataea and elsewhere, were as likely as not to be the outcome of 'cultural work' under Augustus by leading provincials responding to expressions of imperial respect for ancestral Greek victories against Persia.

The exemplary pairing of Athens and Sparta by the Romans created a new rapprochement between the two cities, discernible from Augustus on. The honour paid by the Athenian to the Spartan People has already been noted. In the Antonine age Sparta sent Panhellenes to Athens and

[136] Gow and Page 1968: Antipater xxiii (*AP* 7.531), lxxxviii (*AP* 1.176), cxv (*AP* 7.236); Antiphilus xxxviii (*AP* 9.294); Bassus ii (*AP* 7.243), vii (*AP* 9. 279); Diodorus xi (*AP* 7.235), xiv (*AP* 7.74); Erucius xii (*AP* 7 230); Parmenion x (*AP* 9.304); Philip xlix (*AP* 9.293).

[137] Gow and Page 1968: Antipater xxiii (*AP* 7.531), lxxxviii (*AP* 1.176), cxv (*AP* 7.235); Antiphilus xxxviii (*AP* 9.294); Bassus ii (*AP* 7.243), vii (*AP* 9. 279); Diodorus xi (*AP* 7.235), xiv (*AP* 7.74); Erucius xii (*AP* 7 230); Parmenio x (*AP* 9.304); Parmenion x (*AP* 9.304); Philip xlix (*AP* 9.293).

[138] Joseph *BJ* 1.13. [139] Spawforth 1994a: 238; Rose 2005: 65–6.

Spartans attended the Panathenaea.[140] There were also intermarriages at elite level, of which the earliest can be traced to the later reign of Augustus. As noted in Chapter 2, Ti. Claudius Novius of Athens married a Spartan wife, Damosthenea, daughter of P. Memmius Lysinicus and quite possibly the widow of another Athenian, Zeno (V), a son of Pammenes (II) of Marathon. If Damosthenea were born around the turn of the first century BC, these marriages would have taken place under the Julio-Claudians. The intermarriage attested in an Epidaurian inscription of *c.* AD 49 which gave the well-born Athenian brothers Timosthenes and Callistomachus, members of the Eleusinian clan of the Ceryces, a Spartan cousin, L. Volusenus Aristocrates, can be assigned to the reign of Augustus.[141] Finally, on the basis of a fragmentary Spartan inscription an intermarriage has been reconstructed between Claudia Tisamenis, a member of the family of Herodes Atticus (probably his sister), and a Spartan notable, [Ti. Claudius Aristo]crates, a likely member of a family of descendants and hereditary priests of Poseidon.[142] The tending of the traditional cults of their cities was another duty which the elites of these cities had in common, one which also came to the fore in the triumviral age and under Augustus, when the atmosphere of religious revival in the capital made a strong impression on Greece. The Athenian programme of restoration of sacred sites on Salamis and on the mainland belongs to a larger body of evidence for a selective cultic renaissance in the Greece of the late first century BC, to which we turn next.

[140] These Spartans in the audience were directly addressed by Aelius Aristides in his Panathenaic speech: Aristid. *Or.* 1. 326 (295D).

[141] Spawforth 1985: 219. Clinton 1974: 57 is unduly cautious on this point.

[142] Spawforth 1980 = *SEG* 30.407. The reconstruction has found acceptance, with some disagreement as to where Tisamenis belongs on the stemma of Herodes: *RP* 1 LAC 231 with later bibliography. I adhere to my original views.

CHAPTER 4

'The gifts of the gods'[1]

BEFORE AUGUSTUS

The impact of Augustus on the civic religion of Greece, the subject of this chapter, must briefly be set, first of all, in the larger context of a degree of mixing of Roman and Greek religion already detectable in the republic. In the *Pro Flacco* Cicero includes religion (*religio*) among the blessings of civilisation which the Athenians originated and then gifted to the rest of the world.[2] By the first century BC there was, then, a Roman tendency to view Athens, and Greece more generally, as a kind of religious motherland, a tendency fed by increasing Roman knowledge of – as the elder Pliny later put it – 'all the legendary lore of Greece and likewise its glorious literature' (*omnis Graecia fabulositas sicut et litterarum claritas*).[3] As we shall see, for Romans some of the mythical stories constitutive of this fabulosity contained, or allegorised, powerful truths about *mos* and about the divine origins of *humanitas*, civilisation.

This religious convergence was encouraged by the fact that Romans of the republic already felt, as it were, 'at home' in Greek religion, in the sense that they lived with a traditional strand in their own religious system which they had conceptualised, at least since the third century BC, as '*Graeca sacra*' or '*Graecus ritus*'. That is, the official religion of the Roman republic incorporated old cults, including those of Apollo, Hercules, Saturn and Ceres, which the Romans considered as partly or wholly Greek in origin and which they sometimes celebrated according to the 'Greek rite'. This mixed Roman ritual with Greek practices such as offering tithes (*decumae*), wearing wreaths and uttering Greek words.[4] There were also long-standing traditions of intermittent Roman contact with sanctuaries in Greece, including Epidaurus, where the Romans had

[1] Paus. 1.14.2: 'In all Hellas the chief rival of Athens for antiquity and for the gifts it claims from the gods is Argos, just as Egypt rivals Phrygia in the world of the barbarians.' See below, this chapter.
[2] Cic. *Flacc.* 62. [3] Plin. *HN* 4.1.1. [4] Scheid 1995.

sought out the healing god Asclepius in 291 BC, instituting a branch of his cult on the Tiber island, and the oracle of Delphi, consulted officially for the last time in 204 BC.[5]

The process of imperial incorporation intruded new elements: Roman generals placed their victory trophies and dedications in Greek sanctuaries, which they also plundered, a practice continuing intermittently until the reign of Nero.[6] Sulla, the most notorious of these Roman despoilers in republican times, may also have been the first member of the Roman elite to be initiated at Eleusis, where the cult of Demeter and Core already enjoyed enormous renown in Hellenistic times.[7] A generation later, Cicero vividly articulated the spiritual meaning of Eleusis for some members of the Roman elite in the late republic, in doing so showing how completely he had imbibed the traditional Athenian claims for the Eleusinian mysteries:[8]

> 'For among the many excellent and divine institutions which your Athens has brought forth and contributed to human life, none, in my opinion, is better than those mysteries. For by their means we have been brought out of our barbarous and savage mode of life and educated and refined to a state of civilisation (*ad humanitatem*); and as the rites are called "initiations", so in very truth we have learned from them the beginnings of life, and have gained the power not only to live happily, but also to die with a better hope.' (Cic. *Leg.* 2.36)

This Ciceronian view sums up the spiritual essence of Eleusis in Roman times: a legendary story at the heart of the mysteries which commemorated the godly gift of agriculture which enabled the human transition from savagery to civilisation, re-enacted in a religious experience which, unusually if not uniquely in ancient polytheism, offered hope of a better afterlife. This essence explains the universal appeal of Eleusis, not only for individuals but also, as we shall see, for the Roman imperial state.

At the close of the republic, questions at the centre of power about the need to reorganise Roman religion were accompanied by, and fed off, a new impulse to preserve the religious traditions of Rome by exhaustively documenting them, to which the publication by Varro of his *Divine Antiquities* in 47 BC, dealing in minute detail with the priesthood, buildings, rites and gods of Roman official religion, is the towering monument.[9] It marked 'the emergence of a discourse of antiquarianism [which] had a radical effect on

[5] Liv. 10.47.6–7; 22.57.4–5; 23.11.1–6. Jacquemin 2001: 156–7.
[6] L. Aemilius Paulus and L. Mummius Achaicus in Greece: Gruen 1993: 141–5, 125–6. Generally: Jacquemin 2001: 158–65.
[7] Plut. *Sull.* 16, doubted by Clinton 1989a: 1503. Renown: Henrichs 1995: 257.
[8] Cp. Isoc. *Panegyr.* 4.28–29. [9] Momigliano 2003.

Roman perceptions of tradition and on their sense of identity'.[10] Among other Romans of Cicero's day, the augur Ap. Claudius Pulcher, consul in 54 BC, has been characterised as 'representative of the new breed of religious "enthusiast"' at Rome. Pulcher's piety extended to the traditional cults of Greece, as shown by his consultation of Delphi on the outcome of the war between Caesar and Pompey, and by his initiation at Eleusis, where he also built a grandiose new gateway for the sanctuary which expressed his spiritual preoccupations in its orientation and sculptural décor.[11] Antony too articulated by his actions the 'new religious awareness' of the late republic.[12] He was informed about ritual systems, both Roman and Greek. In Rome, notoriously, he deployed his knowledge of the Lupercalia to mount a public demonstration of Caesar's refusal of the royal title.[13] For political reasons as well as from any religious feeling, in the years around 40 BC as triumvir he behaved in Greece in a manner reminiscent of Appius. Plutarch approvingly notes his enthusiasm for 'initiations' and for watching agonistic festivals (*theas agōnōn*), including, probably, those of the sanctuary of Zeus at Olympia, which there are grounds for thinking that he visited.[14] He also 'promised' the Senate to repair the temple of Apollo at Delphi, a gesture which resumed the traditions of patronage of the panhellenic sanctuaries by Hellenistic rulers and foreshadowed a long list of imperial repairers of famous Greek temples.[15]

In the middle and late republic the cities of the Greek world, on their part, experienced what has been described – before the demonisation of the term – as a 'gradual "Romanization"' of their cultic life, defined by the 'assimilation of Roman religious forms' and manifested, for instance, in the development of the cult of Roma in the east and in dedications by Greek states on the Capitol in Rome.[16] The Athenian evidence reveals another working of this process, already mentioned in Chapter 1 and highly significant, since it affected the control of *polis* religion and the authority to innovate in local cult: namely, a new tendency for the political elite also to hold state priesthoods, in marked contrast to the Classical era, at any

[10] Wallace-Hadrill 2008: 235.

[11] Beard, North and Price 1998 I: 152–3 with n. 108. Koch 2003: 311–12. Mason and Wallace 1972. Pulcher's gateway: *ILS* 4041 (Latin dedication). Interpretation: Sauron 2001.

[12] North 1986: 254.

[13] North 2008, reinterpreting this notorious episode.

[14] Plut. *Ant.* 23.2–4. Clinton 1989a: 1506 doubted whether Antony was an Eleusinian initiate (*pace* Fontani 1999: 194–5) and notes that '[t]here were many mystery cults at this time'; Habicht 1997a: 360 had similar doubts on chronological grounds. In imperial times the Roman elite was drawn to the mysteries of the Mistress at Lycosura: *IG* v, 2, 524, 541–2. Compare too, from late antiquity, the Roman senator Vettius Agorius Praetextatus and his wife, initiated at Lerna and Aegina as well as Eleusis: *ILS* 1259–60. For the cults of Roman Argos, see below (this chapter).

[15] Plut. *Ant.* 23.4 with Pelling 1988: 176.

[16] Beard 1994: 767; Beard, North and Price 1998 I: 158.

rate in Athens, when it is extremely unusual to find prominent political figures holding important cult positions. Symptomatic of the change are Medeius of Piraeus, a leading political figure in the years before Sulla's siege of Athens, when he was three times archon, and who also held the prestigious priesthood of Poseidon–Erechtheus, and Pammenes (II), under Augustus a hoplite-general and archon (as already seen), who also served as priest of Apollo on Delos and imperial priest on the Acropolis and who belonged, as we shall see, to a larger family group deeply implicated in the restoration of Athenian religion in the late first century BC.[17] This Roman-style combination of political and priestly power can be paralleled elsewhere in Roman Greece, albeit with less clarity as to how far these other examples constituted an evolution in local arrangements.[18]

From what has already been said in earlier chapters about the increasingly Roman orientation of the Greek elites in the first century BC, it should come as no surprise to find that local notables in charge of Greek civic cults were aware of, and responded to, the Roman debates about religious reform at the close of the republic. Arnaldo Momigliano has written of the 'considerable amount of evidence . . . about Caesar's interest and that of his circle in changes and innovations in the rituals they had inherited'.[19] The young Octavian was already acting on this reforming mood from the outset of his political career. It has now been argued that he had already put into place much of his programme of religious restoration, resulting in a massive buttressing of the Roman practice of 'polytheistic ritualism', in the years before 27 BC, and had signalled the 'model of archaic Rome' for this restoration as early as 44 and 43 BC.[20]

As regards cult practice in first-century BC Greece, scholars now see Antony – and his entourage, one should add – as an early conduit for the Roman religious concerns of the last decades of the republic. At Athens, he is said to have 'led the Athenians into a burst of enthusiasm for their classical past'.[21] Michael Hoff diagnoses an 'awakening of an antiquarian spirit among the older and wealthier families during the chaos of Antonian Athens', one which 'becomes accelerated under Augustus'.[22] At Athens, where the evidence is best, this change has been set against a local background of 'religious desuetude' after Sulla's sack of the city, leaving a legacy

[17] Lambert 2011: esp. 551, 558, 568.

[18] *IG* v, 1, 36.6–8; 500, 529, 537, *SEG* 11.492. Note also *IG* iv, 606 (Argos); *IG* iv², 652, 691 (Epidaurus). To my knowledge a systematic study of this question has yet to be carried out.

[19] Momigliano 2003: 149. [20] Scheid 2005: 178–86. [21] Bowersock 2005: 2.

[22] Hoff 1996: 190. Parker 1996: 280 stops an invaluable history of Athenian religion 'somewhere between 300 and 250 BC'. A comparable history for Roman Athens or, indeed, Roman Greece, currently lacking, would be a significant contribution to the study of later ancient polytheism.

of damage and decay in many sanctuaries, as the Augustan programme of restoration, discussed in Chapter 3, reveals.[23]

Over and above the local background, this chapter seeks to emphasise a larger, Roman, context. The social stratum in charge of civic religion in the Greek cities, that is, the local elites, were well aware, at least in the important centres of religious activity in Greece, the major cities and sanctuaries, of the 'vitality and innovativeness' in the religious atmosphere at Rome at the end of the republic, communicated to them through their exposure to the discourse of the Roman elites and perhaps (in the form of resident Romans) sub-elites, along with an awareness that leading Romans such as an Appius, an Antony or (as we shall see) an Augustus expressed their interest in Greek religion by personal visits to, and participation in, the cults of the Greek states, episodes in which these same elites were directly involved as hosts and priests.[24] Because the nature of Roman religion was such that 'it valued the precise preservation of archaic forms above anything else', the initiation by leading Greeks of a parallel process of recovery of lost forms in Greek ritual allowed them to make use of cult as a 'channel of communication' with the Romans, and thereby to enact their responsiveness to Roman values. What one also would predict from this picture, and what one finds, is a Greek tendency to focus in particular on ritual strands perceived as holding a particular interest for the Romans, because they mirrored a particular Roman image of Greece: most strikingly, the idea of Athens as the cradle of *humanitas*, an idea which could be 'performed' ritually through the cults of the 'culture-bringing' heroes and deities of Athenian polytheism, such as Buzyges (below).

The Greeks were able to engage with Roman concerns in this way because 'the normal healthy state of Graeco-Roman city-based paganism was one of constant renewal and innovation, combined with a related loss of older rituals, procedures, knowledge and even gods and goddesses':[25] that is, loss and recovery were permitted by the fundamental nature of Greek no less than Roman paganism, a point which should be borne in mind when considering later in this chapter a particularly startling story of 'loss and recovery', the recreation of the Messenian mysteries at the Carneasium. This willingness to innovate in civic religion on the part of the leadership of the Greek cities in the late first century BC is revealed above all by the 'imperial cult'. This expression is, as recent work has

[23] *IG* ii², 1035; S. Aleshire in Aleshire and Lambert 2011: 561.
[24] Quotation: North 1986: 254.
[25] North 1986: 252.

emphasised, a misnomer, since essentially what was involved at the level of the city was the ritual integration of honours for Roman rulers within the existing traditions of Greek civic polytheism.[26] This was a process requiring creative change as well as the input of economic resources. It had begun in Greece with civic cults for Roman generals and underwent a massive change in scale after Actium when the cities sought to accommodate the unprecedented position of Octavian/Augustus. That Augustan Greece was scarcely less innovative in this regard than, say, Asia Minor has now been shown by the detailed study of Maria Kantiréa. A good example is the Athenian institution of the '*Dōdekais*', meaning 'Twelver' or something like it, the new name of a traditional kind of sacred embassy from Athens to Delphi, used to mark the linkage of these embassies to the celebration of the birthday of Augustus, which fell on the twelfth day of the Athenian month Boedromion, and thus to the 'Apollonism' of the princeps.[27] Her study relieves this book of the need to look in depth at the 'imperial cult', although, as we have already seen and as we shall see again, this 'confusing nexus of different acts and ceremonials' repeatedly intrudes on any investigation of Roman influences at work on Greek civic religion and, indeed, architecture.[28] This chapter prefers to concentrate on documenting innovation where the presence of Rome is not necessarily so obvious in order to map a more shadowy area where the Greekness of Greek religion at the dawn of the principate turns out to have been massively enriched by a Greek dialogue with Rome.

This process was already at work before Augustus. Evidence, from Athenian and Delphic inscriptions, documents new phases in, firstly, the long history of ritual ties between Athens and Delphic Apollo and, secondly, the religious activities of the Athenian *genē*. Broadly speaking these developments seem to reflect Athenian efforts to reconstitute the religious traditions of archaic Athens. The *genē* were the institutionalised kin groups from which Athenian priests were traditionally appointed for many *polis* cults, including major ones. They are first encountered in the text of Herodotus (below), and were certainly much older. Athenian ties with Delphi are thought to have reached back to at least 700 BC.[29] Quite apart from the Athenian cult of Apollo Pythius, first attested in Pisistratid times,[30] the city had a tradition stretching back to the fourth century BC of sending

[26] Price 1984.
[27] Kantiréa 2007: 45–8. The key piece of evidence is the Athenian inscription now published as *Agora* 16, no. 336, lines 7–8 (the month name restored).
[28] Quotation: Millar 1984: 53. [29] Parker 1996: 27–8 traces them back to at least 700 BC.
[30] Parker 1996: 73 citing Photius s.v. *Puthion*.

sacred embassies to Delphi. This practice was revived in the prosperous and peaceful period between the Athenian recovery of Delos (166 BC) and the First Mithradatic War, when Athens celebrated these embassies, called Pythaids, with particular magnificence.

As for the *genē*, they had enjoyed an active role in the civic religion of Athenian democracy, but then declined after 300 BC, probably because a weakened Athens could no longer subsidise their activities. Inscriptions show a revival, as well, of the *genē* from the mid second century BC. This religious revivalism helps to make the case for a mood of nostalgia in second-century BC Athens (see Chapter 3). This revivalism has been linked to the tightening of the Roman hegemony in the Balkans following the Third Macedonian War (see below). It also reflected social and economic change: newly rich Athenians, flush with Delian fortunes, intermarried – there is evidence for this – with established *genos* lineages in order to gain access to the social prestige conferred by tenure of important priestly positions.[31]

Antony no doubt discussed Delphic Apollo with the families of the local elite during the triumvir's stays in the city, when he and his entourage would have been guests of prominent local families. This is the most likely background for the despatch, in the years around 40 BC, of an Athenian sacred embassy to Delphi, only the second since the Sullan sack. It was led by the priest of Apollo, Eucles of Marathon, from an influential family with ties to the Roman senatorial elite.[32] The family had been active in the Pythaids since the late second century BC and was obviously proud of its hereditary ties with Delphi, since it maintained them until well into the second century AD.[33]

Even more strikingly, in the mid thirties BC the ancient *genos* of the Gephyraei 'burst into our view again', as Oliver has put it, his point being that, otherwise, our main source for this *genos* is Herodotus. The historian includes a digression on this descent-group, which interested him partly because its members included the Athenian tyrant-slayers Harmodius and Aristogiton, and also because he believed that its ancestors were figures from the remotest antiquity, Phoenician companions of Cadmus. Apart from this passage, the Gephyraei are attested in an inscription from the fourth century BC: then silence, until their reappearance in an Athenian inscription dated to 36/5 BC by the Athenian archon-year of Diopithes,

[31] This analysis is indebted to Lambert 2011 and the work of the late Sara Aleshire.
[32] Colin 1905: nos. 54, 55–6, these last two omitted by Ameling 1983: nos. 2, 42–9; *SEG* 30.85.
[33] E.g. Ameling 1983: nos. 2, 23–4, 105–10, 176.

who held office two years after the archon-year (38/7 BC) in which the Athenians renamed the Panathenaea the 'Antoniea' in honour of Antony.[34]

The fragmentary text records an exchange of letters between the *genos* and the city of Delphi prompting the 'renewal of friendship' between the two parties (the verb used is *ananeōsthai*, 'to renew'). The *genos* had sent two of its members to consult the god 'as is ancestral custom for the *genos*' (line 10), 'on behalf of the Buzyges and priest of Zeus in Palladium'. One of these oracular envoys was, once again, Pammenes (II) of Marathon, formerly Cicero's *puer*, future priest of Roma and Augustus on the Acropolis, and here still a young man.[35] As this text shows, he belonged to the Gephyraei.[36] In 36/5 BC 'the Buzyges and priest of Zeus in Palladium' was a close kinsman of Pammenes, Diotimus son of Diodorus of Halae, perhaps his first cousin, whom we shall encounter again in connection with the likely restoration of the Prytaneum (Chapter 5). With the priesthood of the Buzyges we enter into 'the earliest stratum of religion in primitive Athens':[37] at any rate, as this stratum was reclaimed in Roman times. In support of what follows, and indeed of the methodology of this chapter as a whole, I am indebted to Sally Humphreys:

> This analysis is based on assumptions that have been uncommon in the study of Greek ritual: that rituals change, that close study of ancient interpretations of ritual can throw light on those changes, and that belief in the antiquity of a ritual may promote change rather than impeding it. (Humphreys 2004: 222)

In the same chapter on 'Metamorphoses of tradition', Humphreys also emphasises a diachronic method. Instead of combining 'sources from widely separated periods . . . to reconstruct a "traditional" ritual . . . sources are studied in chonological order as evidence for changing perceptions of the ritual'. This is particularly relevant for Athens (the context in which Humphreys was writing), where much of the evidence for ritual is late, and needs to be considered, much more than it normally is, in relation to the *Roman* world in which it was formulated. Finally, Humphreys notes the ancient 'belief that festivals commemorated events of the distant past': this is a key observation for much of the argument of this book: for what follows, as well as for what has gone before, particularly the remembering

[34] *SEG* 30.85, dated by the archon Theopithes, in turn dated by *IG* ii², 1343.21–2, 24–5 to the second archonship after that of Menander in 38/7 BC, when the Antoniea were celebrated (Habicht 1997a: 362 with n. 105). Hdt. 5.55–61. Parker 1996: 288–9.

[35] For the Buzyges and the homonymous hero see Kearns 1989: 152. Oliver 1980: esp. 40–3. Athenian Palladium: *RE* 18.3 (1949) cols. 176–9 (L. Ziehen).

[36] Meritt 1940: 93–4.

[37] Robinson 1931: 156.

of the Persian Wars, much of it mediated, as we saw in Chapter 3, through religious cults and festivals.[38]

Thus forearmed, we return to the Buzyges, incumbent of the chief priesthood hereditary in the *genos* of the Buzygae, of which Diotimus must have been a member.[39] Meaning 'Ox-yoker', the title was in fact a personal name, that of 'one of the (Attic) heroes, the first to yoke an ox and plough the land and make it serviceable for agriculture'.[40] A scholiast to Aeschines records that this first of all ploughs was preserved on the Acropolis 'in memory'.[41] As for the priest called the Buzyges, he is attested in this inscription for the first time.[42] In the imperial era he conducted rites, well known to contemporaries, which commemorated the culture-bringing activity of the hero as inventor and primitive legislator. The priest performed 'sacred ploughings', presumably every spring. There can be no doubt of a heightened interest in these ritual ploughings at Roman Athens. One of them was depicted on the so-called Calendar Frieze, a sculptured depiction of Athenian festivals from an unknown Athenian monument, mostly recently dated to the age of Hadrian (Figure 4).[43] Plutarch and a scholiast to Aelius Aristides record three different locales for these activities, representing different mythical traditions. Two, at Sciron, on the way to Eleusis, and at Eleusis itself, the Rarian meadow, commemorated Demeter's gift of agriculture to the Eleusinian prince Triptolemus, the Attic hero who vied with Buzyges in contemporary perceptions as inventor of the plough.[44] The third ploughing, and the only one which we can be sure was performed by the Buzyges as opposed to an Eleusinian priestly official, took place 'near the foot of the Acropolis at the Buzygium': evidently a plot of arable land in central Athens. There was certainly an Eleusinian connection in imperial times, however, since the scholiast adds that the *genos* of the Buzygae collectively provided the oxen for the Eleusinian ploughing, as perhaps they did for all the ploughings. Probably for this reason, the Buzyges as representative of his clan was included among the Athenian priests who

[38] Humphreys 2004: 223, 224, 273. Goldhill 2006 independently emphasised the 'serious difficulties' (p. 113) arising from synchronic approaches to the study of ancient ritual.

[39] Kearns 1989: 69.

[40] *Anecd. Bekk.* 1.221.8, cited by Parker 1996: 286–7 with earlier bibliography.

[41] *Σ* Aeschin. 2.78.

[42] Later attestations: *IG* ii², 3177 (below, this chapter); *Eleusis* nos. 300.7 (Augustan) and 489.61 (late 160s AD); *IG* ii², 5055 and 5057, two *proedria* inscriptions in the Theatre of Dionysus for the 'Buzyges priest of Zeus in Palladium', the other for the 'priest of Zeus Teleios Buzyges', where 'Buzyges' may refer to the *genos* and not signify the priestly title; *SEG* 28.225.12 (right side), *c.* AD 200–210.

[43] Palagia 2008: 223 Fig. 6.8–9. I am grateful to Monica Haysom for this reference.

[44] Plin. *HN* 7.56.191: '. . . the ox and the plough by Buzyges the Athenian, or, as others say, by Triptolemus . . . '

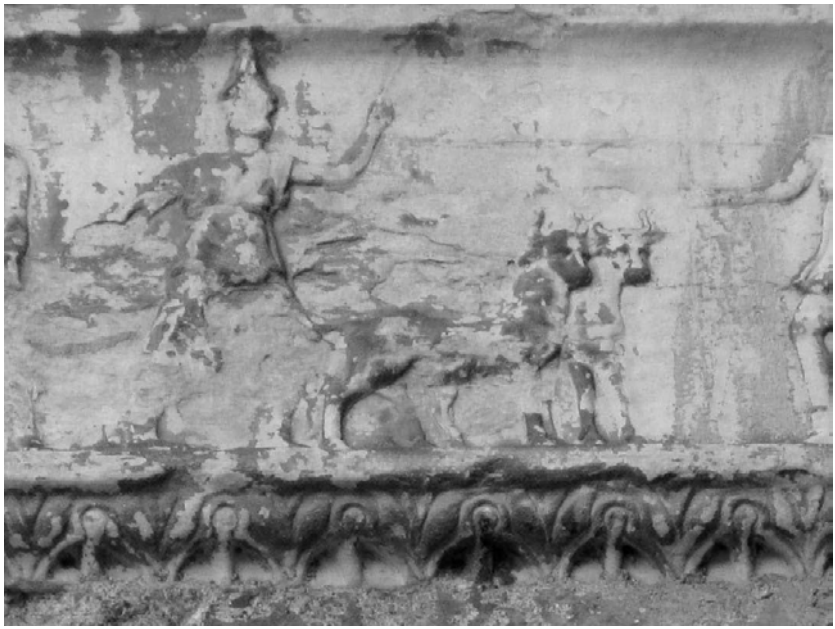


Figure 4 An Athenian sacred ploughing (detail). Calendar frieze, Little Metropolis Church, Athens.

benefited from an Eleusinian endowment under Marcus Aurelius.[45] While performing his ploughings, the Buzyges uttered ritual imprecations: so many, indeed, that 'Buzyges' became proverbial for people who cursed a lot, the proverb finding its way into the mediaeval corpus of ancient Greek proverbs, the *Corpus Paroemiographorum*, which had its origins in the era of Hadrian. Three of these curses are directly attested: on people who did not share water or fire with those in need, who failed to give directions to lost wayfarers, and who, coming across a cadaver by chance, failed to bury it.[46] A fourth, attested in the third-century AD writer Aelian, cursed

[45] Plut. *Mor*. 144b: 'The Athenians observe three sacred ploughings: the first at Sciron in commemoration of the most ancient of sowings; the second in Raria, and the third near the foot of the Acropolis, the so-called Buzygium (ox-yoking).' Σ Ael. Arist. 3 p. 473.25–7 Dindorf: 'those who rear the sacred oxen who plough in Eleusis are called Buzygae . . . ' Paus. 1.38.6: 'They say the Rarian meadow was the first place ever sown or cropped; hence the tradition of using barley-grains from there, and making sweetcakes for the sacrifices. Here they show you Triptolemus's threshing floor and altar' (transl. P. Levi). For the locations see Valdés Guía 2009: 294–5. *Eleusis* no. 489.61 (endowment).

[46] *Paroemiogr. Gr*. 1, p. 388 (Leutsch-Schneidewin): 'Buzyges: (proverbial) for those who curse a lot. For the Buzyges at Athens, while performing the sacred ploughing, utters many curses including ones on people who do not share water or fire according to need and who do not show the way to

those who sacrificed working oxen, since they ignored the fact that these animals were 'farmers' themselves, creatures who shared in the labours of humankind.[47]

In archaic Athens Buzyges was known as a lawgiver, he was depicted (rarely) on Athenian vases, and Eupolis, the comic playwright of the late fifth century BC, was familiar with his curses.[48] That said, his priest, as already noted, is attested no earlier than 36/5 BC, and the ploughing rite no earlier than the lifetime of Plutarch.[49] In imperial times the priesthood has striking staying power. The lettering of the reserved seat for the incumbent in the theatre of Dionysus denotes perhaps the latest of all these inscribed seats, from the third or even fourth century AD.[50]

The meaning of the myth for contemporaries is made clear by the ploughing ritual itself and by a number of comments in Roman and Greek authors of the time. As we have seen, Cicero and other Romans were inclined to see Athens as the originator of civilisation (*humanitas*), her gifts to mankind including agriculture and laws, two fundamentals for the formation of human society. This claim originated with the Athenians themselves. It can be traced back to the Athenian heyday in the fifth century BC, but the ancient texts which reveal its wider currency are no earlier than the late second century BC, beginning with the decree of the Delphic Amphictyony for the Athenian artists of Dionysus from around 117 BC. This contains a mini-panegyric of the Athenians as:

the people (*dēmos*) who, being the founder (*archēgos*) of all good things among humankind (*anthrōpois*), led men from the bestial life into civilisation (*eis hēmerotēta*) and were responsible for the interaction of men with one another

people who are lost.' Σ Soph. *Ant.* 255: 'It is said that the Buzyges at Athens cursed those who ignore an unburied body.' The same interdiction, without mention of the Buzyges, recurs in Ael. *VH* 5.14: 'Another Athenian custom (*nomos*): anyone who came across an unburied body was obliged to cover it with earth, and to bury it facing west.' See Durand 1986: 175–9.

47 Ael. *VH* 5.14: 'Another usage [the Athenians] preserved: a working ox that had been yoked to pull the plough or a wagon was not sacrificed, because it too could be thought of as a farmer and as one who shared man's labours.'

48 *FGrH* 328 F 96, a fragment of Hermippus of Smyrna (third century BC) in turn citing Lasus of Hermione, a poet at the Pisistratid court, for the link between Buzyges and *nomothesia*. Two Attic vase paintings apparently depicting the hero at his plough are the sole support for the claim that the ritual ploughing was already practised in sixth-century BC Athens: Valdés Guía 2009: 295.

49 *Pace* Toepffer 1889: 137, Plut. *Sull.* 13, describing how the besieged Athenians ate 'the feverfew (*parthenion*) growing around the Acropolis', cannot be referred to the sacred ploughing at the Buzygium. Plin. *HN* 21.176 states that wild feverfew had a bitter taste and records its use in medicine, not cooking. Theophrastus includes it among the *lachana*, herbs, which produce edible juice when cooked (*Hist. Pl.* 7.7.2). Plutarch's point is that eating the feverfew was a measure of last resort.

50 *IG* ii², 5055 = Maass 1972: 125 and plate xiv.

by introducing the tradition of the (Eleusinian) mysteries and by announcing to all, through these, that social interaction and trust are the greatest good among men, and, in addition, the gods having gifted them privately (*idiai*) with the laws bearing on friendly relations among humankind (*philanthrōpa*), with education (*paideia*), and likewise with the tradition of harvest (*tēs tou karpou paradoseōs*), they shared with the Greeks the common use of (?) what was theirs.[51]

Not long previously, *c.* 130 BC, the Amphictyons had displayed their deference to Rome by making decisions concerning the Athenian actors' guild conditional on Roman approval.[52] In this political atmosphere, reflecting no doubt the real extension of Roman power in Greece after Corinth's sack in 146 BC, the redactor of these Amphictyonic praises for culture-bringing Athens surely meant to align the council with Roman attitudes. Indeed, the Romanity of this conception of Athens has not been sufficiently stressed. It is found not only in Cicero, but also in both Plinys (for the elder Pliny see below), and is stated as a matter of fact in the Hadrianic historian Florus, no admirer of Athens.[53] These passages date from a period, the first centuries BC and AD, when ancient, and not least Roman, interest in the origins of civilisation increased, fuelled by philosophy, notably Posidonius, and echoed popularly in a 'fashion of assigning mythical inventors for the arts and sciences', one with roots in Greek philosophy.[54] In the later first century BC Diodorus Siculus makes clear the competition among both Greeks and non-Greeks to lay claim to these first inventors (*prōtoi heuretai*). He sets out the Egyptian myths about the origins of humankind and of cultural civilisation in the Nile valley, but notes that Egyptian *philotimia* may have driven out truthfulness in these matters, and elsewhere, in a historically problematic speech with a dramatic date of 413 BC, parades the encomium of Athens as the originator of grain and laws and hence a universal benefactor.[55] Educated Romans must have known of these Egyptian claims, which no doubt were fanned by the Ptolemies,[56]

[51] *CID* 4.117, dated 'between 121 and 117, perhaps 118/7 or rather 117/6'; adjusted translation following Mikalson 1998: 263 and the French translation and commentary ibid. with its reading '*ex he[a]ut<ou>?*' in line 16. Other discussion: Oliver 1968: 18–19; Habicht 1997a: 278–9.

[52] *IG* ii^2, 1132.94.

[53] Flor. 1.40.10 (*frugum parentum*), where the Athenians are also described as *ingratissimos hominum*. The passage is cited by Oliver 1968: 18–19.

[54] So Kidd 1988 II: 965 in his commentary to Poseidonius F 284 (Sen. *Ep.* 90). Also Blundell 1986: 187–98.

[55] Diod. Sic. 1.10.1–22.7 (Egypt); 1.30.5 (Egyptian *philotimia*); 13.26, part of the speech of the otherwise unknown Nicolaus of Syracuse, of which this encomium, at least, seems impossible to accept as authentically fifth century BC; it would fit well as a late-Hellenistic invention. See Oliver 1968; Hornblower 2008: 9–10 ('an insoluble problem').

[56] For Ptolemaic echoes in book 1 of Diodorus see Burton 1972: 1–34.

but the strong impression given by Roman literature from Cicero on is that Rome preferred to assign Greek, and specifically Athenian, origins to cultural civilisation.

Going back to the hero Buzyges, he belonged to the nexus of Athenian legends around this Athenian gift to humankind as the inventor of ploughing, which made possible the growing of annual crops. In this capacity the elder Pliny includes him in his long list of the 'various discoveries of different persons', including a number of other Athenian 'firsts' in the basic necessities of civilised life: 'Ceres discovered corn, men having hitherto lived on acorns; she also invented grinding corn and making flour in Attica (or, as others say, Sicily).' The Athenian Eumolpus discovered viticulture and arboriculture, the Athenian Aristaeus oil and oil mills and apiculture. It was at Athens that humankind first ceased to be cavemen: 'brick kilns and houses were first introduced by the brothers Euryalus and Hyperbius at Athens, previously caves had served for dwellings'. Finally, urbanism, such a cherished value for the Romans (Chapter 5), originated at Athens: 'Cecrops named after himself the first town, Cecropia, which is now the Acropolis at Athens.' This Roman list made Athens the cradle of civilisation in much the same terms in which modern archaeologists conceive the early cultures of Mesopotamia.[57] To an ancient way of thinking these inventions naturally redounded to the credit of the goddess who watched over the city: Aelius Aristides uses Buzyges to illustrate the gifts of Athena in his oration in praise of Athens.[58]

What also interested the legally minded Romans was the role of the hero in formulating elementary rules of conduct marking the first formation of human society around the new discoveries of sowing and ploughing. As to the primacy of Athens in the matter of 'laws', this rested partly on the reputation of Solon and the Areopagus, believed by Romans to have been the first court of capital crimes.[59] The curses of Buzyges represented an even earlier layer of Athenian lawgiving. Without naming him, Cicero clearly knew of his imprecation against the refusal of help to lost wayfarers and made use of it in *De officiis*, his work discussing problems of personal conduct.[60] A few years later, in his treatise on agriculture, published in

[57] Plin. *HN* 7.56.191, 194, 199.

[58] Aristid. *Or.* 37.16 transl. C. A. Behr: 'For when I considered that both trade and naval warfare were gifts of Athena, a certain Buzyges occurred to me, one of those from the Acropolis, and the fact that the farmer would have had no plough, nor when he had the plough, could he have yoked his oxen, "if grey-eyed Athena had not given him the wisdom", through which the plough and ship was constructed, and horses and oxen were yoked.'

[59] Plin. *HN* 7.56.200.

[60] Cic. *Off.* 3.54 with Dyck 1996: 563. '"Yes," says Antipater, "it is; for to allow a purchaser to be hasty in closing a deal and through mistaken judgment to incur a very serious loss, if this is not refusing

37 BC, Varro knew of the protection decreed by the hero Buzyges for the ox as the companion of man's labours in the fields.[61] Varro's knowledge of Athenian myth and ritual drew on personal acquaintance with Athens, where his religious interests had led him to consult the 'books of the sacrifices' (*libri sacrorum*): this marked concern of a learned Roman senator for Athenian religious antiquities will surely have impacted on the local priestly elite.[62] With the earliest attestation of the priest called the Buzyges dated precisely to 36/5 BC, and his appearance in an Athenian context of conscious renewal (*ananeōsis*) of old Athenian traditions, it is tempting to conclude that not only were the interrelated families of Marathon and Halae aware of Roman interest in the hero Buzyges, but also there now took place a 'renewal' of the ancient ritual of the sacred ploughing because this ritual re-enacted, for a contemporary audience including Romans as well as Greeks, the myth of Buzyges: an important illustration of the claim that culture began in Athens.

The Gephyraei themselves had a certain topicality in the context of late first-century BC Athens, where there was renewed interest in their most famous members, Harmodius and Aristogiton, the Athenian tyrant-slayers. In 44 BC the Athenians had pointedly set up bronze statues of Cassius and Brutus, Caesar's assassins, who had taken control of Greece in the same year, next to the famous Classical statues of the tyrannicides in the agora.[63] An Athenian inscription found on the Thriasian plain near Eleusis uses archaising letter-forms, dated by Graindor to the Augustan era, to reproduce an 'oracle of Harmodius and Aristogiton' recommending a sacrifice to the local hero, Thriasius.[64] The Romans as well were interested in these famous figures from Athenian history. Cicero knew of the Attic orators who frequently used them as examples of Athenians who died for their country. In 52 BC he spoke of the old hero cult of the tyrannicides (in a forensic speech, admittedly) as if it was still maintained in his time.[65] Their statues were also famous and resonated with the archaic Roman

'to set a man right when he has lost his way' (a crime which at Athens is prohibited on pain of public execration), what is?"'

[61] Varro *Rust.* 2.5.4 (transl. L. Storr-Best): 'The ox, I say, is the comrade of man in the labours of the field, and the servant of Ceres, and the ancients were so firmly determined to guard his life that they punished with death any one who slew him. To this fact Attica and the Peloponnese are witnesses. For it is to the ox that Buzuges at Athens and Homogyros at Argos owe their fame.'

[62] Varro *Ling. Lat.* 5.97.

[63] Cass. Dio 47.20.4. Habicht 1997a: 357–8: 'It is clear that the citizens of Athens also celebrated Brutus and Cassius as tyrant-slayers and recognized them as national heroes.'

[64] *IG* ii², 5007 with the dating by Graindor 1924: 14 no. 7. Graindor 1927: 147 interprets the text as an oracle given *to* the tyrannicides, before their deed, Taylor 1981: 30 n. 13 and Kearns 1989: 55 n. 55 (cp. 170) as one given *by* them, presumably in association with their hero-cult.

[65] *Ath. Pol.* 58.1. Cic. *Tusc.*. 1.49.116. Taylor 1981: 30 n. 13 citing Cic. *Mil.* 80: 'The Greeks bestow divine honours on those who have killed tyrants. What wonders I have witnessed in Athens and

struggle against tyranny. Their original date of erection in archaic Athens offered a supposed synchronism with the Roman expulsion of the kings.[66] Evidence for Roman replicas of the pair of statues by Critius and Nesiotes has been found in Italy, which were evidently in some demand, since a cast of Aristogiton's beard, probably from the original in the Athenian agora, was found in a sculptor's workshop in Baiae.[67] The *genos* cannot be linked with the Athenian commemoration of the tyrannicides, either in Classical times or Roman. But the renewed fame of these one-time *gennētai* was surely an important factor in maintaining the prestige of the *genos* in Roman times, as was its association with the figure of Cadmus, a Phoenician culture-bringer who, in a tradition which Tacitus records, brought writing to the Greeks.[68]

At almost exactly the same date as the re-emergence of the Gephyraei at Athens, the authorities in charge of the sanctuary of Zeus at Olympia inaugurated the practice of setting up inscribed lists of cultic personnel. The earliest of these lists is dated by the 186th Olympiad to 36 BC. The personnel listed were civic functionaries performing the sacrifices offered at Olympia by the city of Elis: the monthly sacrifices on all the altars, the daily sacrifice and the sacrifice for Pelops, which Pausanias describes in some detail:

> They sacrifice in an antique style; they burn frankincense with honey-kneaded wheaten cakes on the altars, and lay branches of olive on them and pour wine. It is only to the Nymphs and the Mistresses and on the common altar of all the gods that the practice is to pour no wine. The performance of the sacrifices is under a priest who holds that honour for a month, also prophets and wine-carriers, a sacred guide and a flute-player and the woodman.[69] (Paus. 5.15.10 transl. P. Levi)

As well as the woodsman (*xuleus*), the wine carrier (*oinochoos*), and other more humble personnel named last, the lists foreground functionaries drawn from the Elean elite: the priests (*theokoloi Olympikoi*), the seers (*manteis*), who were members of mantic lineages (the Iamids and the Clytiads), the libation-bearers and the expounders (*exēgētai*). There can be

the other cities of Greece, what rituals ordained for these men, what music, what hymns in their honour' (transl. D. H. Berry).

66 Plin. *HN* 34.9.17: 'I rather believe that the first portrait statues officially erected at Athens were those of the tyrannicides Harmodius and Aristogiton. This happened in the same year as that in which the kings were driven out at Rome.'

67 Taylor 1981: 37–9.

68 Tac. *Ann*. 11.14: a digression on the invention of letters which shows the interest of this subject for the author.

69 Cp. Paus. 13.2.10.

no real doubt, therefore, that the impulse to inscribe these lists reflected the concerns of the local elite of the city which hosted the sanctuary. It should also be recognised that these inscriptions were themselves performative.[70] The lists advertised to visitors the names and priestly functions of the Elean elite and, in general, their *pietas*, especially since the lists were inscribed on stone of special sanctity, namely, old marble tiles from the roof of the temple of Zeus itself.[71] Hans Langenfeld saw as the trigger for the practice of inscribing these lists a reorganisation, otherwise unattested, of the priestly and cultic personnel of the sanctuary, one involving 'the fixing of their privileges'.[72] There may be some truth in this hypothesis. More significant, surely, is the emphasis on the preservation of ancient practice. This is clear from the statement of Pausanias that the sacrifices were performed in the 'antique style', by which he meant that this type of non-blood sacrifice evoked for Greeks a primitive age in which offerings were made from agricultural first-fruits.[73] It also emerges from antiquarian elements incorporated from the start of the series in the lists themselves: the archaistic heading ΔΙΟΣ ΙΕΡΑ, for which the closest parallels come from Olympian documents of the fifth and fourth centuries BC, and the mysterious letters after the names of the functionaries, including the obsolete digamma. These seem to refer to primitive subdivisions of the Elean citizenry now kept alive only in the cult and administration of Olympia.[74] Pausanias well captures the fascination which the sacrificial rituals of Olympia exerted in Roman times owing to the perception of their great age and the prestige of the locale. Thus he notes that the sacrifice to Zeus 'of Flies' was introduced by Heracles, along with the use of the white poplar for kindling, and explains how a passage in Pindar shed light on the joint sacrifice to Alpheus and Artemis in his day.[75]

These sacrificial performances, daily and monthly, presuppose an audience of visitors, as well as a rationale for their likely cost. It is tempting to suggest that the lists reflect a refreshment of the ritual triggered by new levels of outside interest in the sanctuary, particularly among the Roman generals and magistrates active in Greece in the age of the civil wars. Olympia was renowned among the Romans above all for two reasons. The first was the statue of Phidian Zeus, widely regarded in Roman times as an ideal image of the godhead. This reaction among Romans can be traced back at least to 167 BC, when L. Aemilius Paulus was so moved by the statue that he

[70] Goldhill 2001b: 10. [71] Böhme 1995: 91. For this damage to the temple of Zeus see below.
[72] Langenfeld 1975: 237–8. [73] On this point: Weniger 1920: 5.
[74] See W. Dittenberger and K. Purgold to *IVO* 59; Zoumbaki 2001: 32–6, whom I follow.
[75] Paus. 5.14.1–2, 6; cp. 6.22.8–10.

ordered a 'larger than customary' sacrifice.[76] Paulus' reaction exemplifies a general trend towards what has been called the 'aestheticizing' of the temple experience in later antiquity. This was encouraged by the Roman canonisation of certain Greek sculptors, of whom Phidias was certainly one by this date, and also by a general belief, originating in Greek philosophy, that great sculptors could capture the living god.[77]

The second reason for Olympia's renown was the festival. In 80 BC a growing taste in republican Rome for Greek athletics had prompted Sulla to translate a whole Olympiad to Rome as a spectacle for the Roman people.[78] Although the festival subsequently went into decline in the late republic, its revival under imperial patronage is well attested (below). The first signs of Roman concern for Olympia can be detected with Antony, who is said by Plutarch to have enjoyed watching agonistic festivals while in Greece. Although he is not known to have attended the Olympic games of 40 or 36 BC, his direct interest in Elis and Olympia has reasonably been inferred, partly from his general patronage of Greek athletics and partly from traces at Elis of his gifts of the *civitas* to local notables.[79] The likeliest case is the family of a certain M. Antonius Pisanus of Elis, who erected a statue at Olympia of his patron (*patrōn*) Germanicus in AD 17: the two men were probably linked by a hereditary relationship of patronage deriving from Antony, the prince's grandfather, the likely source of the citizenship of Pisanus.[80]

Since an argument of this book is that resident Romans also formed an underestimated conduit for cultural interaction between Romans and Greeks, this discussion of Olympia ends by pointing to the presence in first-century BC Elis of diaspora Romans. Their unusual self-description as *Rhōmaioi engaiountes* suggests landed interests in the famously fertile territory of Elis as well as other kinds of business. In the late republic these Elean *Rhōmaioi* included L. Mindius, whose brother, L. Miscinius, had

[76] Liv. 45.28.1–5.

[77] Auffarth 2009 and 2010. Key ancient passages: Strab.7.7.6; Dio Chrys. *Or*. 12. Note also Plin. *HN* 31.4.18 ('that Phidias is the most famous sculptor among all people who appreciate the fame of his Olympian Jupiter is beyond doubt'); cp. 34.19.54.

[78] App. *Rom*. 1.99. Spawforth 2006b: 384.

[79] So Langenfeld 1975: 237–8.

[80] *RP* I EL 41. There is no particular reason why Pisanus should rather have owed his citizenship to Antonia Minor, as Zoumbaki 2001 suggests. Her case would be stronger if, say, Pisanus had included the mother in his honours for the son. Note also C. Antonius Leo, an Olympian functionary in AD 67 (*RP* I EL 40). Zoumbaki 2001: 158; 215–16 no. 97 suggests an ancestral citizenship grant from Antony's uncle C. Antonius, who was exiled to nearby Cephallenia in 59 BC. But a change of *praenomen* is also possible: compare 'Lucius Antonius Zeno, son of Marcus Antonius Polemo', in an inscription from Heraclea-Salbace in Caria: *AÉ* 1987: no. 929 (Augustan).

served Cicero in Cilicia as quaestor. In 46 BC, after his brother's death, this Miscinius asked Cicero to approach the governor of Achaia on his behalf for help in securing his Greek inheritance.[81] A rich and well-connected Roman such as Mindius would presumably have had social contact with the Elean elite. In the first century AD intermarriage is well attested in the case of the Vettuleni, a Roman settler family active in the cultic and agonistic life of Olympia.[82]

AUGUSTUS

I have argued so far that a mood of religious antiquarianism with Roman overtones is already detectable at Athens and Olympia in the triumviral era. This mood was not an autonomous development in Greece but should be understood as a function of a growing dialogue, religious as well as political, between Greek and Roman elites at a time when religious reorganisation, ritual recovery and the appeal to archaic models were in the cultural air at Rome. Actium ushered in a new regime committed to a programme of religious restoration which it embarked on at once, with many important measures already in place by 27 BC.[83]

This change of regime impacted on the public religion of Greece in two main ways. Firstly, Augustus and his collaborators, Agrippa notably, took a much closer interest in the major Greek sanctuaries than earlier Roman dynasts: Olympia, Eleusis and, to a lesser extent, Delphi all received signs of imperial goodwill one way or another. Karl Koch has rightly emphasised the importance of public gestures of respect by Augustus towards Greek cult: they 'compelled the Roman public to respect that the emperor took them seriously'.[84] This kind of behaviour, at the level of the new incarnation of the Roman imperial state, as Augustus to all intents and purposes was, helps to explain the subsequent longevity of the benign relationship between Roman emperors and precisely these sanctuaries.

Partly Augustus was stepping into the shoes of the Hellenistic kings, whose patronage of Greek religion had been a means of demonstrating the *eusebeia*, piety, which the Greeks considered to be a proper quality of rulership. Augustus needed to outdo Antony, whose religious activities in Greece, discussed above, were, for Plutarch, a sign that he was *philellēn*. The return by the new regime of sacred property removed by Antony from sanctuaries in Asia is a measure of the importance which Augustus attached

[81] Cic. *Ad fam*. 13, 26; 28. Zoumbaki 2001: 58. [82] Zoumbaki 2001: 243–8. [83] Scheid 2005.
[84] Koch 2003: 306.

to diminishing the memory of his old enemy. The princeps included this measure in the *Res gestae* despite the fact that, generally speaking, he was not interested in using this document to record *beneficia* to provincials.[85]

Secondly, cult continued to provide the Greek elites with a 'channel of communication' with the regime, whether through emperor-worship or through a creative reaction to the religious preferences of Augustus (such as his particular attachment to Apollo and Mars) or to the larger mood at Augustan Rome of religious renewal, summed up by Wallace-Hadrill as follows:

> Just as the rescue of moral values from the forces threatening to destroy them seemed to guarantee the rescue of the social and political order, so the rescue of endangered religious practices symbolised the preservation of order. (Wallace-Hadrill 1993: 83)

In what follows, the cultic initiatives in Greece of Augustus himself, and of Agrippa, are first reviewed. These included not only concrete acts of piety of a fairly traditional kind, but also an innovative attempt to harness a particular civic institution, the 'sacred elders', to the service of the regime.

On one modern view, the *raison d'être* of the Augustan foundation of Nicopolis was religious: 'the *Princeps* had as his sole design to honour the city which he had founded by associating it with the administration of the cults and festivals celebrated for Apollo, his tutelary god'.[86] This is perhaps an exaggerated view, but there is no doubt that Augustus used his new foundation to publicise his pious debt to the deity who had assumed for him 'the role of mighty protector and war god'.[87] Marchetti has suggested he conferred the Actian *agōnothesia* on the Spartans, not just because Eurycles was his protégé, but because Sparta was a traditional centre for the worship of Apollo.[88] It was mainly by means of Nicopolis that Augustus made his mark on the sanctuary of Apollo at Delphi. He gave the Nicopolitan citizenry a preponderant place – ten out of twenty-four seats – on the Amphictyonic council, the religious body which from time out of mind had supervised the Delphic sanctuary, its finances, cults and festivals.[89] In the later second century BC the Amphictyony had addressed itself to all the Greeks in a well-known decree enjoining on them the acceptance of the New Style Athenian coins.[90] This striking action revealed a new tendency, perhaps supported by Rome, to enlarge the remit of the organisation. It

[85] *Mon. Anc.* 24.1 ed. Brunt and Moore with commentary (66).
[86] Sánchez 2001: 427 with earlier refs. [87] Scheid 2005: 179.
[88] Marchetti 2001b: 466. [89] Paus. 10.8.3–5. Sánchez 2001: 426–8. [90] *FD* iii, 2, 139.

helps to explain how Roman writers in the later first century BC came to see the Amphictyony as a panhellenic assembly. Thus Cicero describes it as the 'common council of Greece', and Livy mentions 'Thermopylae, where on stated days the whole of Greece is accustomed to meet in the council called "Pylaic"'.[91] This vision receives its fullest development precisely under Augustus in Dionysius of Halicarnassus as part of his project to prove the Greek origins of the Romans. A Roman, the archaic king Tullius, admires 'the plan of Amphictyon, the son of Hellen who seeing the Greek race weak and easy to be destroyed by the barbarians who surrounded them, brought them together in a general council and mass-assembly (*panēguris*), named after him the Amphictyonic council': supposedly Tullius then uses the Amphictyony as a model for the Latin League.[92] The Roman view persisted: the elder Pliny also informed readers that the Amphictyony 'is a general council of Greece'.[93] The excellent suggestion has been made that these descriptions, while they do not match the reality, the Amphictyony never ceasing to be a regional body throughout its history, 'reflect what Classical Greece *should have been like*: federated, regulating its differences by arbitration not war, and united against the invader'.[94] If so, it is worth stressing that this idealisation of the Amphictyony appears first in *Roman* writers, followed by Rome-centred Greek writers of the age of Augustus. There is no reason to think that the Romans took the idea from Greek sources, rather than the other way round. This Amphictyonic utopia was encouraged, if not created, by a Roman discourse in the late republic about the 'true Greece'. At least in the presentation of Dionysius, there is a resonance too with the Persian Wars ideology of the Augustan regime. It is possible that Nicopolitans had encouraged this reform themselves, since the new citizen body presumably included established families of the region, with memories of the Aetolian domination of Delphi and the Amphictyony, back in the third century BC.[95] Since he had endowed Nicopolis with a vast territory in north-west Greece, Augustus may have expected that Nicopolitan membership would, in due course, nourish the vitality of the worship of Delphic Apollo: as indeed it did.[96] He does not appear as a benefactor in the sanctuary itself, where the Roman state had long ago ceased to consult the oracle. The idealised Amphictyony seems to have been his designated vehicle for dignifying Nicopolis with the aura of the 'true' Greece.

[91] Cic. *Inv.* 2.69. Liv. 33.35.8. [92] Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 4.25.3–6. [93] Plin. *HN* 35.35.59.
[94] Sánchez 2001: 462–3. [95] Oliver 1983: 100.
[96] For Nicopolitans prominent in the Amphictyony and/or at Delphi note Sarikakis 1970: nos. 20–1, 37, 57, 75–6, 91–3, 106–7, 124.

The Amphictyony was not the only device by which its Roman founder sought to achieve this same end. Strabo says that Augustus upgraded the old local festival of Actian Apollo by reorganising it as an 'isolympic' contest. The meaning is clear. Victors in the new pentaeteric Actia would share the same privileges as those in the famous festival at Olympia, including the right to public maintenance (*sitēsis*) in their home city. The new Actia were celebrated on a cycle which can be taken back to September 27 BC – a likely date for the first celebration.[97] They seem to have met with immediate recognition to judge from the calibre of known Augustan victors and the ranking of the new games in victor records.[98] It is likely, then, that one concern of Octavian in adopting the Olympian model was to attract to Nicopolis the best performers from all over the Greek world.

The quality of the agonistic amenities at Nicopolis sent the same message. As part of the upgrade, the games were moved from the old sanctuary of Actian Apollo to a 'suburb' (*proasteion*) of the new city just to the north of its city wall, overlooked by the campsite memorial. Here rose a theatre, a stadium and a gymnasium. The centrality of this area to the new city grid is shown by the way in which a central north–south street after leaving the city led directly up to the memorial, having passed between the gymnasium and the stadium on the way; this was surely a processional way.[99]

There can be little doubt that the audiences at these first Actian games were given ideological food for thought by what they saw around them. The provincial notables among them could reflect on the *pietas* of Rome's new leader, evoked not only in these honours for Actian Apollo but also in the regional cults of relocated communities, including whole shrines, reverentially transposed to the new city.[100] In the person of the Spartan agonothete and in the isolympic status of the games they were reminded of the high honour in which the new ruler of Rome held the traditions of Classical Greece. Provincials would see examples of the new Augustan art, with its stylistic quotations from Archaic and Classical Greece. Finally they would reflect on this gesture of Roman support, unprecedented in its lavishness, for the rich agonistic culture of the Greeks by means of the Actian contests.[101]

If Augustus chose not to emulate Antony in the matter of repairs to Apollo's temple at Delphi, which had to await the generosity of Domitian

[97] Schäfer 1993: 247. [98] Gurval 1995: 77 with refs. [99] Zachos 2003: 69.

[100] Archaeology suggests the transposition of a fourth-century BC temple from nearby Cassiope: Rizakis 2009: 25.

[101] Sarikakis 1965: 157–62 for a list of *Actionicae*, including (no. 25) a *tragōdos* as well as athletes and musicians.

in AD 84 (Chapter 6), the new regime took a marked, and underestimated, interest in Olympia. Partly the evidence comes in the form of what must once have been an eye-catching Latin building inscription. Its original letters were of gilded bronze and 16 centimetres high. Only the word 'Agrippa' is (partially) preserved.[102] The stone was a rare polychrome marble, yellow streaked with violet, entirely out of place amid the conglomerate and white stucco of the older monuments of Olympia, and out of place above all in the temple of Zeus itself, from the front porch of which this inscription comes. The inscription seems to have been set into, and record the donor of, a new pavement made of this same material. The use of coloured marble is Augustan, as indeed is bronze lettering, typical of the 'explosion of inscriptions as a by-product of the Augustan building program'.[103] This 'enhancement of a familiar form', here by the startling application of exotic marble and 'sparkling' metal to an old Doric temple, was in keeping with the spirit of Augustan architecture in the capital.[104] Despite these tell-tale indicators of an Augustan context, the old excavations at Olympia dated the restoration before Agrippa's first term as consul in 38 BC – on the grounds that the incomplete text omits any of his consulships – and coupled it with hypothetical repairs to the temple at that time. These were inferred from the fact that, as we saw above, old marble roof-tiles from the temple were available for reuse as inscribed stelae from 36 BC.[105] This view cannot be right, and not just on epigraphic grounds.[106] The temple is known to have been struck by lightning in 56 BC, severely enough to damage the statue.[107] All that the availability of old roof-tiles for reuse as stelae shows is that repairs of some kind – perhaps provisional, like the temporary roof on the Hellenistic Erechtheum following a fire – had taken place by 36 BC.[108] Other repairs took place in the late first century BC as well, to the roof and its guttering and perhaps to the gable sculpture. These renovations probably preceded the decorative flourish constituted by Agrippa's new pavement in Phrygian *pavonazetto*.[109]

[102] *IVO* 913. [103] Galinsky 1996: 352 citing Alföldy. [104] See D. Favro in Galinsky 2005: 254.

[105] See Willemsen 1959: 88; Mallwitz 1972: 107; followed by Hitzl 1991: 14. Cp. Baladié 1980: 337; Schäfer 1998: 92–3 n. 192; Zoumbaki 2001: 33, 166.

[106] Spawforth 2006b: 386 argues that an interpunct after *[Ag]rippa* shows that the inscription continued onto a neighbouring stone, now lost.

[107] Euseb. *Praep. Evang.* 2.136. [108] Lesk 2005: 209–10.

[109] Dinsmoor 1941, followed most recently by Younger and Rehak 2009, preferred to place these repairs in the second century BC because he thought that the style of replacement figures in the west pediment, which he included in the same phase, suited a much earlier date. As he says (p. 406), the evidence for repairs 'would have received its proper value if the temple of Zeus had ever been examined stone by stone in the manner in which we should study a temple at the present day'. As it is, it remains unclear how far Agrippa was responsible for other repairs to the temple.

This pavement used the idiom of Augustan architecture to display the *pietas* of the regime in an unmissable spot, trodden by all visitors entering the temple to gaze on the god's statue. It is clearly wrong to assert, as Langenfeld has done, that Augustus had no real interest in Olympia itself.[110] It was not only Roman admiration for the statue by Phidias which the regime sought to register, as is clear from the benefactions of Herod of Judaea, which Josephus a century later described as follows:

> . . . his generosity to the Eleans on the other hand was a gift not only to Hellas in general but to all the *oikoumenē*, wherever the renown of the games at Olympia extends. For seeing that these were in decline for a want of money and that this sole relic of ancient Hellas was in decay, he not only accepted the post of agonothete of the fourth-yearly celebration which coincided with his visit on his voyage to Rome, but he endowed them with eternal revenues, so that the memory of his presidency would never fade. (Joseph. *BJ* 1.426–427)

The flattery of Augustus implicit in Herod's benefactions was noted in Chapter 2. It is inconceivable that this *amicus* of Augustus would have benefited Olympia in this way – any more than Nicopolis, where he was also a lavish donor, or Athens or Sparta – unless the emperor approved: at Olympia too, I would go so far as to argue that Herod acted as a kind of cultural broker for the regime. The view of Sophia Zoumbaki is therefore much nearer the mark: Augustus took a 'lively interest' in the restoration of the sanctuary and the games.[111] The same is true of the decision by his stepson Tiberius to enter an equestrian team in an Olympic celebration, probably that of 20 BC: so well before the period of his retirement in semi-disgrace to Rhodes in 6 BC.[112] This was probably when Tiberius arranged for a grant of citizenship to an Elean notable, Ti. Claudius Apollonius, which Augustus must have approved despite his general parsimony with gifts of the *civitas*. I have suggested elsewhere that Agrippa as well was present in person at the games of 16 BC: hence the occasion for his building activity. Again, the presence of, first Tiberius, then Agrippa, at Olympia must have had the approval of the princeps. The victory of Tiberius was celebrated and publicised to visitors by a substantial monument set up by his Elean client Apollonius. The visit of Agrippa may have been commemorated – and also publicised – by an honorific arch of Augustan date straddling the main ancient approach to Olympia.[113]

[110] Langenfeld 1975: 242 ('Indifferenz'); cp. 245 n. 70: Agrippa 'scheint sich für die Konkurrenzen in Olympia nicht interessiert zu haben'.

[111] Zoumbaki 2001: 167.

[112] For this dating see Zoumbaki 2007: 160–4.

[113] *IVO* 220 and 369 with Zoumbaki 2001: 167–9. For this Apollonius, see *RP* I EL 138. He set up two large monuments at Olympia, one (220) for Tiberius alone, celebrating the victory of his 'patron

Augustan patronage of the Olympic festival is best understood as part of a larger claim by the regime to a stake in Greek athletics. Roman moralists disapproved of the Greek gymnasium and activities associated with it, especially pederasty.[114] It may seem surprising in some ways, therefore, that Augustus, given, as argued in Chapter 1, his concern for Roman manliness, should have sought to promote *agōnes*, a Greek cultural form which would continue to be resisted in some western quarters as un-Roman well into the principate.[115] The answer partly lies in the popular appeal of Greek athletics by this date in Rome itself, which Augustus exploited by building a wooden stadium in the Campus Martius and staging one-off athletic meets, which he avidly followed in public, signalling a demand for respect for this activity.[116] It partly lies in the cultural politics of his relations with the Greek world, where Antony had already appeared as the patron of athletics, and where Augustus now did likewise, above all with his Actian games, but also with his promotion of the Olympics as a standard for new games to emulate: not only the 'isolympic' Actia, but also the Sebastan games at Naples, founded in 2 BC in honour of Augustus, who not only attended, but on one occasion presided, and who was surely consulted by the Neapolitans before the games were founded. These games were also conceived as 'isolympic', and the direct relation with the archetype was underscored by the erection at Olympia of a copy of the 'act of foundation' of the Sebasta.[117] Langenfeld has maintained that the Eleans would scarcely have welcomed the creation of 'rival' games further up the west coast of Greece. This would only have been true if the timings clashed, so that athletes had to choose one over the other. It was once argued that Octavian synchronised the Actia with the Olympics because he 'desired to replace the more famous Olympian games'. The two festivals are now known to have fallen in consecutive years.[118]

Augustus showed no interest in the oracle at Delphi or in the temple housing it, which lacked a famous *agalma* by a Classical master.[119] It needs recognising that the regime by contrast publicly extolled Olympia and its festival. The basic reason must have been that the Romans felt reverence

and benefactor', the other (369) for Tiberius and Drusus his brother, with the name of Drusus son, born in 15 BC, added as an afterthought. Arch: Spawforth 2006b: 387, citing the researches of the late A. Mallwitz.

[114] Petrochilos 1974: 177–82; Wallace-Hadrill 2008: 169–96.

[115] Plin. *Ep*. 4.22 (abolition of a Greek-style athletic festival in the Roman colony of Vienne). See Woolf 2006.

[116] Refs.: Spawforth 2006b: 385.

[117] *IVO* 56 (*SEG* 37.356). Suet. *Aug*. 98.5; Vell. Pat. 2.123.1; Cass. Dio 56.29.2. Spawforth 2006b: 388.

[118] Gurval 1995: 75 with the older literature; Langenfeld 1975.

[119] Langenfeld 1975: 247–8.

for the sanctity of the temple and recognised Olympia as the classic cradle of Greek agonistics. The sacred aura bestowed on the games by the presence of the god, or rather of his awesome image, should not be underestimated: it was no doubt the renown of this statue which helps explains why Pausanias saw the mysteries at Eleusis and the Olympic games as outstanding manifestations of divine solicitude (*ek theou phrontis*).[120] There are several references in the Augustan poets to the games at Olympia, including Horace's ode to Maecenas where the achievement of the 'lords of the earth' who win an Olympic chariot victory is poetically compared to that of the Roman who succeeds in holding the offices of quaestor, praetor and consul.[121] When Dionysius of Halicarnassus wishes to show the Greekness of Roman games, it is Olympia that he uses as his point of departure, in the matter both of loincloths and their removal and of different types of chariot race.[122] The development of a Roman-imperial discourse around the uniqueness of Olympia is shown by the fact that no imperial celebration was ever associated with the festival, unlike the other games of the old *periodos*, and by the archaising refusal to modernise the stadium, where spectators continued to sit on earthen embankments.[123] An ideological impulse seems to have emerged under Augustus to emphasise the association of Greek athletics with the martial achievements of the 'true' Greece, which Olympia was held above all to embody. As suggested in Chapter 3, this impulse apparently related to the official respect which Augustan Rome paid to the Persian Wars and, by implication, to Greek ideals of manliness, which athletics since archaic times had significantly helped to shape. In the mid second century AD Roman Olympia's role in the preservation of Greek masculinity was explicitly targeted when the Cynic philosopher Peregrinus criticised the nymphaeum of Herodes Atticus, which by tampering with the traditional, masculine, 'dryness' (*to xēron*) of Olympia threatened to make the Greeks effeminate. By means of 'its crude gaudy statues and coloured marble revetment' the architecture itself may also have provoked the sort of unease experienced by Roman moralists confronted with luxurious buildings.[124] The regime of Augustus had put in motion this reconstruction of Olympia and its festival as the genuine article: the echt-*agōn*. The taunting, and tainting, of Antonine Olympia with the charge of feminising luxury suggests the new burden imposed on

[120] Paus. 5.10.1.
[121] Hor. *Carm*. 1.1.3–8. Awareness of Pindar was also a factor, no doubt: cp. 1.5.1.
[122] Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom*. 7.72.3; 73.1. Cp. Vitr. 9 praef. 1. Langenfeld 1975: 244 (other refs.).
[123] Kantiréa 2007: 152–3. Earth stadium: Paus. 6.20.8.
[124] Luc. *Peregr*. 19. Walker 1987: 61. Edwards 1993: ch. 137.

a refurbished Olympia as a showcase for a Greek manliness about which equivocation could still be found at the highest levels of imperial society, as suggested by the casual use of 'Grecianized' in the correspondence of the emperor Marcus Aurelius, alluding to the luxury-loving Syrian legions, on whom Avidius Cassius was to reimpose *disciplina militaris*.[125]

Augustus is known for sure to have visited only one sanctuary in Greece, doing so not once but (at least) twice. Fresh from his victory at Actium, Octavian was initiated in the mysteries at Eleusis,[126] at a time when Roman initiates of this eminence were still a rarity.[127] Eleven years later, in 19 BC, as he returned home from the east, he was initiated for a second time, the Athenians celebrating the mysteries out of season for his benefit. Dio on this occasion uses the verb *muein*, with the general sense of 'to be initiated', although for a second initiation the technical verb was *epopteuein*, 'to be admitted to the highest grade'. Even so there is no reason to doubt this second initiation.[128] Augustus' respect for Eleusis surfaces a third time in an anecdote of Suetonius:

> He treated with the greatest reverence those foreign cults which were ancient and established, but the others he held in contempt. For he was initiated at Athens, and later took cognisance before his tribunal at Rome of a case concerning the privileges of the priests of Athenian Ceres and, since secret subjects were to be discussed, he dismissed his council and the crowd of bystanders and heard the disputants alone. (Suet. *Aug.* 93)[129]

Koch saw this action as a demonstration to the Roman public of the seriousness with which Augustus treated, not only the Eleusinian mysteries, but religion more generally: it was this religious gravity on the ruler's part – in Koch's view – that inculcated 'the strongest impulse to a religious revival'.[130] By displaying the same *pietas* towards an 'ancient and established' foreign cult as he did towards the ancestral Roman cults, he further raised consciousness of the Eleusinian cult among the Roman elite. His signalling prepared the way for the remarkable adoption into the Eumolpidae, the

[125] '*Graecanicis militibus*': SHA *vit. Avid. Cass.* 5.10. For doubts about the authenticity of the letter: Syme 1988b: 699.

[126] Clinton 1989a: 1506–7. Habicht 1997a: 364–5.

[127] Clinton 1989a: 1503 doubts whether Plut. *Sull.* 16 is evidence for Sulla's initiation; before Augustus he accepts the Eleusinian initiations of Cicero, Atticus, T. Pinarius and Ap. Claudius Pulcher and his two nephews.

[128] Cass. Dio 51.4.1; 54.9.10. Clinton 1989a: 'but we have no reason to believe that the verb *muein* could not also be used of the *epopteia* in this period'.

[129] Schmalz 1996: 398 suggests that the reassertion by the Ceryces of ancient rights following the researches of the daduch Themistocles may have given rise to intra-Athenian disputes.

[130] Koch 2003: 306.

genos which provided the hierophant, of a Porcius Cato, apparently under Tiberius or Claudius.[131] The mysteries at Eleusis were 'the most important and, at least in the eyes of Greeks from the classical epoch onwards, the most ancient mystery cult, which was thought responsible for nothing less than civilizing humanity through Demeter's gift of grain'.[132] What they meant to Cicero was noted above. The crowds at Eleusis were huge: in Severan times, at any rate, Athens during the mysteries briefly became the 'largest city in the world',[133] and for that reason attracted people in search of an audience, like the Indian fakir who burnt himself alive as a 'display' (*epideixis*) precisely at the celebration of 19 BC.[134] When the ruler of Rome shared the Eleusinian experience of 'collective purification, the dramatic representation of mythical narrative, the opportunity for awe, fear, wonder, scurrility and humour', and finally 'the open secret "that may not be divulged"',[135] fellow initiates were offered a potent image of Augustus as pious and 'Hellene-loving' (*philellēn*, the approving term used by Plutarch to describe Antony's cultural activity in Greece). There can be no doubt that the initiations of Augustus became widely known in the Greek world.

The question of his purpose is therefore important. To be sure, this display of imperial *pietas* in the centre of Hellenism signalled Roman respect for Athens – the mysteries were fully integrated into Athenian civic cult – and for the traditional religious beliefs and practices of the Greeks. Rainer Bernhardt argued that the initiations of Augustus were at the suggestion of the Athenians themselves, who would have sought in this way to amend for past misdeeds and make a good impression on the princeps.[136] But it must be doubtful whether Augustus would (twice) have allowed himself to be led by the Athenians in this way. Eleusinian initiation was one of the clearest gestures available to a Roman leader of homage to the extraordinary mystery which took place on this spot in far-gone times: the revelation of agriculture. More promising, therefore, is the link which Schneider proposed between imperial distributions of grain in Greece and the Hellenistic, especially Ptolemaic, royal ideology of the ruler as the beneficent provider of food for mankind. Immediately after Actium Octavian sailed to Athens: here, 'after making a settlement with the Greeks, he distributed the grain which remained over after the

[131] *IG* ii², 4190. This Cato, an associate of Ti. Claudius Novius, was a resident of Athens, where he died (*IG* ii², 10163). The Latin text of his bilingual inscription calls him *[Tus]culas* with reference to the Italian origins of the famous family. Byrne 2003a: 416–17; *PIR*² P 856. Perhaps the son of M. Porcius Cato, *cos. suff.* AD 36.

[132] Graf 2003: 244–5. [133] Philostr. *VA* 4.17 (Jones). [134] Cass. Dio 54.9.10.

[135] *OCD*³ s.v. 'mysteries' (R. Gordon).

[136] Bernhardt 1975. I follow his conclusions on the broad historicity of these two initiations.

war among their cities; these were in a wretched plight, and had been stripped of money, slaves, and beasts of burden'.[137] It is likely that he did the same again in 19 BC. The evidence comes in the form of lead tokens of exchange from Athens bearing the name '*Sebastos*', indicating a date after 27 BC, and the image of an ear of wheat. The following year, back in Rome, Augustus made further grain distributions.[138] Schneider argued that after Actium and again after the Parthian settlement, Augustus propagated the idea of himself as the bringer of peace and prosperity, an exalted role announced by his grain distributions and symbolised by his initiations into the mysteries of Demeter and Triptolemus, thereby marking himself out as the devotee of these exemplary bringers of the gifts of civilisation.[139] This interpretation is surely correct. Hadrian, the next emperor to become an Eleusinian *epoptēs*, also distributed grain at Athens (see Chapter 6). This ideological engagement of the princeps with Eleusis provided the central stimulus for reforms of the Eleusinian ritual by the Athenians themselves, of which more shortly.

BODIES OF 'SACRED ELDERS'

In 1919 Wilhelm Vollgraff published an inscribed letter from Agrippa to the 'Argive *gerousia* descended from Danaus and Hypermestra', of which the opening lines only are preserved:

> Of the *gerontes*. Agrippa to the Argive *gerontes* descended from Danaus and Hypermestra, greetings. I indeed feel assured that I have provided the basis for the survival of your corporation (*sustēma*) and the preservation of its ancient prestige, and that I have restored to you many rights (*dikaia*) previously lost, and for the future I am [eager] to show care for you . . . [140]

This is the earliest evidence for an Argive council of elders. Agrippa's fragmentary letter presents him as taking a decisive hand in the revival of this body, which claimed a hoary antiquity and 'rights' lost in an indeterminate past, and as assuring it of his future protection. Other inscriptions reveal that this body functioned as a source of moral authority at Argos under the principate, erecting honorific statues in its own name and probably sitting in reserved seats at Argive spectacles. Its origins, social composition and function require further exploration.

[137] Plut. *Ant.* 68.4 (Loeb transl.). [138] Tokens: Rostowzew 1903: 304–11 with figs. 1–4.
[139] Schneider 1986: 88–9.
[140] Text is most accessible in Oliver 1989: 30–1 no. 3, whose translation is here followed.

Vollgraff suggested a relatively recent origin as a local imitation of the federal *gerousia* of the Achaean League, to which Argos belonged in the third and second centuries BC.[141] There may a better parallel with Sparta, where the *gerousia* of this – likewise – Dorian city originated as an aristocratic council of elders in pre-Classical times. At Sparta the council of elders never lost its central role in public affairs. Elsewhere in the ancient world, archaic institutions with an originally political character were often either abolished or transformed through time, or sidelined into the sphere of cult, where religious conservatism permitted them to survive for centuries.[142] It is tempting to see the Argive body as an institution of this fossilised type.[143] As a much older institution, it might then invite comparison with the *gerousia* of Ephesus.[144] This body first appears in 302 BC. Strabo implies a central role for it in Ephesian affairs under king Lysimachus, although this claim is contradicted by the inscriptions, which suggest that its activities in this period were 'seemingly limited to temple affairs', including the use of its own funds to stage celebrations for Ephesian Artemis.[145] It reappears in Roman Ephesus. Prior to 1993 it was known only from Ephesian inscriptions of the second century AD. These include a long text from AD 104 recording a foundation by an Ephesian grandee to fund civic ceremonies in which the members of the *gerousia* occupy a place close to the very summit of the social hierarchy.[146] Known members in Roman times belonged to the upper reaches of civic society, including local office-holders, Roman citizens and a former priest of Roma.[147] Its large size – over three hundred 'elders' (*presbuteroi*) – reflected the importance and wealth of Ephesus. The *gerousia* controlled ample funds which it lent out at interest. Its main activities in this period were still religious, including continued involvement in the cult of Artemis. By the early AD 160s, when the stock of imperial images kept in its council building included ones said to be 'exceedingly battered' (*agan suntethrau[smenōn]*), it had also been playing a long-standing part in the city's imperial cult.[148]

[141] For copy-cat *gerousiai* of this type see *IG* v, 2, 443, A (Megalopolis, later second or early first century BC); 357, 40 and 78 (Stymphalus, third century BC); 345, 10 (Orchomenos, probably 79/8 BC); 2, 22 (Tegea, *c.* 100 BC). Vollgraff 1919: 266–7.

[142] Van Berchem 1980: 29.

[143] It would be rash to speculate on any possible link with the Eighty, a body politically active at Argos in 420 BC, and thought perhaps to have had much older origins: Thuc. 5.47 with Wörrle 1964: 56–61.

[144] Oliver 1958; Sherk 1969: no. 63; Roddaz 1984: 430–1.

[145] Strab. 14.1.20; on this passage, and the early history of this *gerousia* generally, see van Berchem 1980 and the revisionist remarks of Lund 1992: 126–7. For imperial times note Rogers 1991: esp. 62–5.

[146] Rogers 1991 is a study of this foundation.

[147] Oliver 1941 II: nos. 5, 8, 18, 19.10, 20.

[148] Oliver 1941: esp. Part I, chs. iii–iv; Part II, nos. 1–22; Rogers 1991: 62–4 (62, the evidence for size). Images: Oliver ibid. II, no. 11, line 18 = *IK* II, 1, no. 25.

It is now known that – as at Argos – the Augustan regime lent its official support to the Ephesian *gerousia*. This emerges from the publication in 1993 of a series of imperial and proconsular letters found at Ephesus. They show that the council was protected by the Roman imperial authorities, who repeatedly confirmed its exceptional financial privileges, including the right to seize defaulters on loans from its funds. The mechanism on the face of it looks like a typical pattern of 'petition-and-response', the *gerontes* or their proxy, the city of Ephesus itself, approaching successive Roman leaders and provincial governors to have these privileges confirmed.[149] What is striking is the revelation that this pattern can be traced back to the years immediately after Actium. The earliest-but-one of these documents is a letter from Octavian, who was approached in 29 BC, when he was in Asia Minor with his army, by a nine-strong embassy representing the whole city of Ephesus. The next in date briefly recalls the confirmation of these privileges by none other than Agrippa, who 'wrote and gave the *gerousia* the same honours and privileges', presumably doing so during his eastern tour of 17–13 BC.[150]

It is well known that *gerousiai*, civic corporations of 'elders', men in their fifties or sixties,[151] are particularly prominent in the evidence for the Greek city in imperial times. They can often be linked with the milieu of the gymnasium, where citizen males were traditionally organised by age-classes including, by Hellenistic times, the *presbuteroi*, the older men. This is true of the Ephesian *gerousia*, at any rate under Augustus, when it could be described as a corporation (*sustēma*) of *presbuteroi*. Klaus Zimmerman has persuasively argued from inscriptions that some cities started to distinguish, within the *presbuteroi*, a corps of *gerontes*, elders, constituted as an elite and given decision-making powers, and that this change occurred at a given time. His examples, from Pergamum, Iasus and Cos, suggest a timescale for this change, from the sixties BC to the age of Augustus. That is to say, in addition to the older *gerousiai* in the Greek world which already existed at this date, there may have been an impulse precisely in this period for the institution to spread, although the small size of his sample, as he points out himself, is a shaky basis for generalisation. To account for this change, Zimmerman pointed to the likely models for the name '*gerousia*': whether prestigious examples from the Greek past, notably the *gerousiai* of Sparta and Ephesus, or the example of the Roman present in the form

[149] Knibbe, Engelmann and Iplikçioğlou 1993: 113–22; *AÉ* 1993: nos. 1460–1; *SEG* 43.757–72.

[150] Knibbe Engelmann and Iplikçioğlou 1993: no. 2. Unfortunately, the first letter in the series is too damaged to disclose the sender: an earlier missive from Octavian, perhaps, or even Antony: ibid. no. 1.

[151] Zimmerman 2007: 1526 citing the study of van Rossum (non vidi).

of the Senate, which Dionysius of Halicarnassus under Augustus translates literally as '*gerousia*'.[152] Finally, as evidence for a heightened Greek respect for the Senate in the same period, he pointed to the appearance, in the epigraphy of Greece and Asia Minor, precisely under Augustus, of civic cults of the 'sacred' or 'divine Senate', for which Dietmar Kienast has gathered the evidence.[153]

It seems worth suggesting, as a working hypothesis, that the increasing prominence of *gerousiai* from the late republic reflected widespread attitudes of respect for old age which eventually found expression in Greek-imperial literature.[154] It is hard to resist the idea that a specifically Roman influence was at work here. Traditional Greek attitudes towards old men were perhaps ambivalent.[155] The Romans generally took a more favourable view, as one might expect from a society which, at any rate in the republic, had conceded political authority to a *senatus* or body of 'old men' (*senes*). Cicero, in his treatise *On Old Age*, ascribed to old men the qualities of reflection, reason and judgement (*consilio ratione sententia*):

> If these mental qualities were not characteristic of old men our fathers would not have called their highest deliberative body the 'senate'. Among the Spartans, for example, those who fill their chief magistracies are called elders (*senes*), as they are in fact. And indeed, if you care to read or hear foreign history, you will find that the greatest states have been overthrown by the young and sustained and restored by the old. (Cic. *Sen*. 6.20)

These views are seen as reflecting a real 'tradition of respect' for the old among the Roman senatorial class – as well as indicating another reason why the Romans admired Classical Sparta.[156] It is likely that this Roman outlook created a favourable climate for a new advancement of senior citizens within the civic cadres of the Roman east.[157] Probably it also broadly shaped the support of the Augustan regime for *gerousiai* as institutions. These institutions show considerable regional variation both as to their antiquity and as to their functions. Basing himself on those designated expressly as 'sacred', J. H. Oliver argued that there was an Augustan 'policy' to revive local *gerousiai* in the east and give them a part in an official programme of

[152] Zimmerman 2007. Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom*. 2.12.3. [153] Kienast 1985.

[154] Notably Plutarch, *An seni sit gerenda respublica?* ('Should Old Men Take Part in Politics?'), with an affirmative answer.

[155] Roueché 1993: 161–2.

[156] Powell 1988: 4. Cp. Cic. *Sen*. 18.63: 'nowhere else [than Sparta] is so much deference paid to age and nowhere else is it more honoured' (*nusquam enim tantum tribuitur aetati, nusquam est senectus honoratior*).

[157] See Smith 1998: 86 on Greek-imperial portraits of 'elders' as a possible reflection of the contemporary importance of local *gerousiai*.

religious restoration in the east.[158] Whether there was such a 'programme' needs careful weighing. In its support is the fact that Augustus sought to restore sacred property purloined from eastern shrines in the turmoil of the civil war, although the *Res gestae* was not aimed specifically at a Greek audience. As noted earlier, Augustus only mentioned this item for a Roman readership because it advertised his *pietas* and also his rejection of private luxury, while at the same time doing down the memory of Antony.[159]

Even so, his position after Actium required him to create a new, benevolent relationship with the Greek east, and history had shown that great prestige in Greek eyes attached to rulers who returned looted dedications.[160] His broader concerns on this matter of property misappropriated from sanctuaries in the civil wars are shown by an inscription from Cyme in the province of Asia, dating from 27 BC. This records a ruling of Augustus and Agrippa during their joint consulship in 27 BC:

> In regard to public or sacred places in cities or in the territory of a city or province or to offerings dedicated in such places, no one is to remove them or buy them or take them from any one as a gift; if any have been removed or bought or received as gifts, whoever is in charge of the province is to provide for their restoration to the public or sacred place of the city . . .[161]

Although this particular ruling may have applied only to the province of Asia, it shows that Augustus wished to associate himself, in the eyes of provincials, as well as Romans, with the restoration of religious order and orthopraxy. As already seen in Chapter 3, Augustan Athens provides a case study in the disarray of local cult places in the aftermath of the civil wars and suggests the broad support of the politically active citizenry for a programme of restoration of shrines (as well as other kinds of sites). Other cities in Augustan Greece acted to restore cult buildings in the spirit of Augustan ideology, but with no evidence for the involvement of bodies of elders, even where, as in the case of Messene, such a body is known to have existed at the time (below, this chapter).

The passage in Cicero cited above is striking for its use of the phrase *restitutere rem publicam* to describe disordered polities restored by the prudence of old men. His language anticipates that of the Romans who saw the *res publica restituta*, the restoration of 'the state', as the great achievement of

[158] Oliver 1958. [159] 24.1 ed. Brunt and Moore with their comments, p. 66.
[160] Scheer 1995: 222–3.
[161] Brunt and Moore 1967: 66, a translation reproduced above of lines 2–10 of *I. Kyme* no. 17; Scheer 1995 (noting that Antony's alleged crime was to have possessed privately – Verres-like – his plunder).

Augustus.[162] Cicero goes on to cite lines in a play by the Latin poet Naevius, the question '"How lost you, pray, your mighty state so soon?"' (*Cedo qui vestram rem publicam tantam amisistis tam cito?*), along with the answer, '"Through swarms of green orators, silly lads"' (*proveniebant oratores novi, stulti adulescentuli*).[163] This implied contrast between the political damage done by young hothead orators and its subsequent correction by old men recalls, if one subtracts the generational specificity, the later contrast made by Dionysius of Halicarnassus between the demagogues in Greek city-politics who had led the masses astray by means of the 'Asian style', and *to phronimon*, the politically right-minded element, in charge thanks to the Augustan regime, their political propriety signified by their 'Attic' oratorical register. It seems as if the Augustan regime brought a positive evaluation of the political role of old men, based on ingrained Roman attitudes, to the task of identifying its most natural supporters in the Greek city and for this reason singled out, not so much the age-class of the old men *tout court*, but the elite groups within them constituted as *gerousiai*, making use of bodies of elders already in existence, as at Ephesus, and, where they did not exist already or, as at Argos, had in some way lapsed, encouraged their formation or their resurgence. The preservation and 'restoration' of this body for which Agrippa claimed credit make clear that the *gerontes* at Roman Argos, as at Ephesus, must have performed functions, and represented a social group, which the Augustan regime thought it politic to support. Somewhat later evidence from Argos, and from Messene, where a similar corporation appears under the Julio-Claudians, allows a basis for reconstructing not just the activities, but also the social values of these bodies of Peloponnesian elders.

A characteristic of both these corporations is their claim to great antiquity. As their titulature shows, the Argive *gerontes* claimed 'descent' from the trinity of Danaus, Hypermestra and Lynceus, members of the mythical royal family of Argos. In the version of this famous myth evidently favoured by the *gerousia* Lynceus, the refugee husband of Hypermestra, was reconciled with his father-in-law, Danaus, becoming a progenitor of Argive royalty.[164] As Vollgraff saw, its 'descent' from mythical Argive royalty should not be taken as a literal claim to a Danaid lineage. The alleged ancestry was institutional rather than personal, and in the Argive case presumably was

[162] Millar 1973: 61–7, stressing that, in the Augustan context, *res publica* has a more general reference, as in Cicero, and 'certainly cannot mean anything like "the Republic"'.

[163] Cic. *Sen*. 6.20 (Loeb translation) with Powell 1988: 144, noting the resonance with the Augustan *restitutio rei publicae*.

[164] Charneux 1956: 613.

meant to advertise a body which claimed hoary origins in the mythic age of the Argive monarchy. This affiliation, emphatically incorporated into the title of the council, was not antiquarianism for its own sake: it was probably meant to reinforce the *moral* authority of the corporation by stressing its origins among the sort of revered figures who in Roman Sparta were classed as *archēgētai*, 'founders'.[165] This association of some Greek *gerousiai* with distant antiquity recurs in the Augustan author Vitruvius, who notes that Sardis had assigned the *gerousia*, as its quarters, the old mudbrick palace of Croesus.[166]

Much closer to Argos, we have the body styled in inscriptions from Messene as the 'sacred *gerontes* of Upesia descended from Cresphontes'.[167] The Heraclid Cresphontes was legendary progenitor of the Aepytid line of Messenian kings: here too the Messenian body staked its authority on origins in the mists of myth–history.[168] This body too is known entirely from inscriptions of imperial date. It was able to pass decrees and set up honorific inscriptions and statues in its own right. A decree which dates from AD 42 is the earliest evidence for its existence. At the time the council numbered seventy-five, including two epimeletes. The titulature of the body emphasises its religious remit: 'Upesia' was a variant of 'Upis', an epithet of Artemis, an important deity at Messene.[169] The religious involvement of the *gerontes* is clear from their main attested activity, the award of honours to elite servants of civic cults. They set up statues in the shrine of Artemis Orthia of priestesses who served the goddess 'piously' and 'generously', including Claudia Siteris, a Roman citizeness.[170] They had in their gift the 'crown of Artemis', which they bestowed each year at the civic festival of Zeus Ithomatas. In AD 42 they conferred the crown on their secretary, Mnasistratus son of Philoxenidas, who had been their benefactor during his term of office: his services included 'never ceasing to benefit the (*gerontes*) of Upesia in the sacrifices of the *Sebastoi*', which he must have helped to fund. Like the Ephesian elders, then, the Messenian *gerontes* were active in the celebration of the imperial cult.[171] As for their social composition, this Mnasistratus belonged to a prominent local family, rich, exceptionally prominent in civic cult, as will be seen shortly, with hereditary links to the sacred elders, on whom the father of Mnasistratus and other

[165] Note *SEG* 44.361, lines 6–10 (Heracles and Lycurgus, *archagētai theoi* of the *polis*).
[166] Vitr. 2.8.9. [167] The similarities were first noted by J. and L. Robert in *BÉ* 1966: 380.
[168] *SEG* 23.215 (the fullest version of the title) and 217. [169] Themelis 1994: 111, 115.
[170] *SEG* 23.215–17.
[171] *SEG* 23.208. For the correct interpretation of the secretaryship of Mnasistratus in this inscription see Deshours 2006: 119, citing P. Themelis.

ancestors were said to have bestowed liberalities.[172] One of the names of the two epimeletes in the same year, 'Niceratus', is also revealing. The name was used in the early empire by the leading Messenian family of the Saethidae. They claimed a distinguished lineage (from a Messenian leader of Hellenistic times); they received Roman citizenship from Claudius or Nero; and they were hugely rich and well connected, sufficiently so to be admitted to the Roman Senate in the second century AD and reach the consulship. As others have seen, the epimelete no doubt belonged to this powerful family.[173]

As for the origins of the Messenian body, since the little Messenian city of Thuria had its own corps 'of Upesia' in the second century BC, we can be sure that the equivalent body in the Messenian 'capital' already existed then.[174] It perhaps was created at the same time as the other institutions of the new polity as the restoration of a *gerousia* of Dorian type presumed to exist at Messene prior to the Spartan conquest. As at Argos and Ephesus, we are dealing with a body older than the first-century BC 'wave' of *gerousiai* tentatively identified by Zimmerman. Yet the inscriptions suggest that all three of these older bodies gained in civic prominence from Augustus on.[175] Some redefinition of the role of the Messenian *gerontes* under Augustus, as at Argos, should be considered a strong possibility, along with the acquisition of new titles projecting an aura of ancient sanctity.

The picture for the Argive elders is not dissimilar, but adds a new element. An Argive inscription from the reign of Trajan records the *gerontes* setting up an honorific statue of an Argive matron, Claudia Philomathia, wife of Cn. Pompeius Cleosthenes, their president (*prostatēs*).[176] Both families were from the cream of the local elite. The three young sons of Cleosthenes were honoured by Argos in a triple monument for their terms as junior agonistic officials (*eisagōgeis*) in the Argive games. The name of the eldest, Cn. Pompeius Diodotus, identifies his mother, Philomathia, in all probability as the daughter of Ti. Claudius Diodotus, an Argive magnate honoured by the local Roman community for his public services, including a term as hierophant, probably of the mysteries at Lerna, and presidency

[172] See lines 5–14 of the *dogma* of the elders. Deshours 2006 reprints the text with translation.

[173] *RP* II MES 161. Luraghi 2008b: 307 n. 58.

[174] See the important discussion of L. and J. Robert, *BÉ* 1966: 378–80, commenting on an inscription from Thuria, *SEG* 11.972 and on another of imperial times, misattributed to Laconia by W. Kolbe, *IG* v, 1, no. 379, but in fact from an unknown Messenian city. Andronike Makres is to publish an inscription attesting a sacred *gerousia* in third-century AD Corone.

[175] For another reference to the Messenian *gerontes* in a fragmentary decree of imperial times see *SEG* 45.296.

[176] *SEG* 16.259; Oliver 1958: 481 no. 3 suggested that the indecipherable letters in lines 7–8 should be read as a title of Cleosthenes: '*neos Danaos*'.

of the Heraea and imperial games, when he sacrificed a hecatomb – an exceptional number of oxen – to Nemean Zeus. Diodotus in all likelihood was related to the anonymous 'son of Diodotus' who served as Argive general of the enlarged Achaean League in AD 37. Another pointer to the landed wealth of these families is the victory with a four-horse chariot team won by a Pompeius Cleosthenes of Argos – seemingly the second son of our *prostatēs* – at the Isthmian games in AD 137: chariot racing was a rich man's sport.[177] In accordance with a trend to combine cultic with political prominence noted earlier in the chapter, these Pompeii and Claudii played a leading part in the traditional cults and festivals of Argos as well as holding high administrative positions at *koinon* level.

The family values upheld by the *gerontes* are revealed in the role for which they celebrated Claudia Philomathia: as a wife and, specifically, as a 'new Hypermestra'. This civic title, another of the 'new Themistocles' type, presupposes a meaningful analogy between Philomathia and her mythical counterpart. In the myth of Danaus, his fifty daughters, the Danaids, married their first cousins, sons of Aegyptus, brother of Danaus. When the brothers fell out, the newly married brides killed their husbands in a bloodbath on the wedding night. The exception was the virtuous Hypermestra, who spared Lynceus, her groom. In some versions her father put her on trial, but she was acquitted through the intervention of Aphrodite. Now or earlier, Danaus fled to Argos with his daughters, made himself king there and founded a dynasty descended from Hypermestra's son by Lynceus.[178] Philomathia could be compared with Hypermestra because she was an Argive, but also, it seems, because she too was an admirable wife.[179]

The fact that Philomathia had reared three sons to adulthood suggests the precise way in which her conduct as spouse had been exemplary. We have already seen at nearby Sparta (Chapter 2) that elite women with Roman citizenship took pride in the *ius trium liberorum*, the legal privileges which the marriage laws of Augustus conferred on married Roman women with three or more children. The tenor of the Spartan honours for these women suggests that the legal privilege was imbued with moral value. At Argos the sacred elders seem to have shared this outlook to judge from the honours for Philomathia, wife of their president. The special treatment of the Argive

[177] *RP* I COR 485; ARG 88 and 207–10. For the date of these *eisagōgeis* the key is the Trajanic *floruit* of the Argive agonothete M. Antonius Achaicus (*SEG* 16.258(a), lines 6–8: see *ILS* 8863; Spawforth 1994b: 230 with n. 81; *RP* I ARG 19; COR 53).

[178] See *LIMC* vol. 3, part 1, 337–43, 'Danaides', 'Danaos' (E. Keuls); 5.1.588–90, 'Hypermestra' (G. Berger-Doer).

[179] As already seen by Charneux 1956: 613–14.

gerontes at civic events dignified publicly the values which they espoused. A 'square block' from Argos which bears the inscription '(Belonging to) the *gerontes* descended from Danaus'[180] may once have demarcated places reserved for the *gerontes* in the Argive theatre or some other civic meeting place.[181] The 'rights' which Agrippa returned to them perhaps included these special seats: a typically Augustan marker of social distinction.

The virtue of Hypermestra which the elders celebrated also explains her prominence in the cityscape of Roman Argos, which seems to have undergone a 'systematic restructuring with reference to the legend of the Danaids'.[182] The archaeological museum in the modern town houses a base for a statue inscribed 'Hypermestra', the lettering seemingly Roman.[183] On his visit to Argos, Pausanias was shown mementoes of her story, including the tribunal where she was judged, and a wooden statue of Aphrodite which she dedicated in the sanctuary of Lycian Apollo after her acquittal.[184] The inclusion of Hypermestra in the titulature of these elders goes back to Augustus, when the Danaid myth, as I suggested in Chapter 1, may have been promoted in the capital as a visual allegory for 'bad wives'. The likelihood that Agrippa himself sanctioned this titulature is reinforced by the way in which Augustan poets singled out Hypermestra as an heroic and even exemplary figure. Horace's third book of *Odes*, a collection published in 23 BC, includes (11) a fairly light-hearted poem in which Mercury is asked to give an education in love and marriage to the virginal Lyde by singing the fate of the Danaids, including their watery punishment. The last seventeen of its fifty lines hold up Hypermestra as a model wife, who by sparing her husband was 'the only one of their number worthy of the nuptial torch' (lines 33–34). Her motives were variously explained.[185] Among Augustan writers, Horace presents her as *clemens*, 'merciful' (line 46), Ovid's 'letter' from Hypermestra to Lynceus (14) in his epistolary *Heroides*, as *pia*, doing 'the right thing' (line 4).[186] The myth of the Danaids, I suggest, offered a 'channel of communication' when Agrippa visited Argos (assuming that he did) around 16 BC. For the Argive elders, the myth of the family of Danaus not only offered a prestigious validation of the antiquity of their corporation but also allowed them to advertise their engagement with the

[180] *IG* iv, 579; Oliver 1958: 481 no. 2.
[181] Cp. a stele perhaps demarcating seats for the *boulē* in the Roman theatre at Sparta: *SEG* 11.855.
[182] Marchetti 2001b: 458 n. 15.
[183] *IG* iv, 656. Hypermestra was included in the statue-group set up by the Argives at Delphi in or just after 369 BC: Paus. 10.10.5; *LIMC* vol. 5, part 1, 588.
[184] Paus. 2.19.6; 20.7. Marchetti 1993: 211–19 argued that the one was close to the other and that both were in the vicinity of the imperial therms.
[185] See the survey by Reeson 2001: 219–22. [186] Reeson 2001: 221.

austere family morality which the Augustan regime sought to promote. The enduring appeal of social conservatism within the elite of small-town Argos is suggested by the emergence of this 'new Hypermestra' a century after the passage of the social legislation of Augustus in Rome.[187] Similar family values, as we saw, flourished at Sparta under the principate, including the hailing of a Spartan matron as a 'new Penelope', where the analogous quality is the famous devotion of Penelope to the absent Odysseus.[188]

MESSENE, THE CARNEASIUM AND ARGOS

This section returns to the figure of Mnasistratus, the rich, loyalist secretary of the Messenian elders in AD 42. It explores the implications of his identification, proposed by Petros Themelis in 2001, with the 'Mnasistratus' who features prominently in the 'queen' of Messenian inscriptions, the regulations about the mysteries of the Great Gods at the Carneasium, a sacred grove near Andania in Messenian territory. This identification in turn requires acceptance of the radical new date of AD 24 which Themelis has proposed for this text.[189] The inscription of 194 lines, clearly marking, at the least, a major restoration of the cult, is dated (lines 10–11, 52, 54) by the fifty-fifth year of an unspecified era, normally taken to be the so-called Achaean era, begun in 146/5 or 145/4 BC and yielding a date in 92/1 or 91/90 BC.[190] The argument of Themelis is based on two observations. Firstly, no other inscription, not just from Messene but from the whole of Messenia and indeed Laconia, can be shown to use this era, whereas there are many, certainly from Messene itself, which are dated by the so-called Actian era, begun in 31 BC. Secondly, not only are the letter-forms in his view too early to suit a date in the nineties BC, and certainly cannot provide a secure criterion of date, but the 'fluent, clear and developed Doric dialect of the content' suits the lowered date.[191] In his recent study of the ancient Messenians, Luraghi, having fully in mind the difficulties of dating Messenian inscriptions by letter-forms or linguistic criteria, has tentatively accepted

[187] Marchetti 1993: 217–19 has gone further and suggested that the Argive authorities deliberately sought to evoke the Apollo complex on the Palatine in the spatial juxtaposition of old and new monuments around the civic sanctuary of Lycian Apollo.

[188] *IG* v, 1, 607.21–4, of one Claudia Nicippia, wife of Ti. Claudius Aristocrates, a probable kinsman of Herodes Atticus. The title was rightly seen by Marchetti 2001b: 469 n. 86 as being 'en consonance parfaite avec la restauration augustéenne'.

[189] Themelis 2001b: 75–8 = *SEG* 52.377, apropos *IG* v, 1, 1390 (*SIG*^{3} 735). See Deshours 2006: text, French translation and commentary.

[190] Deshours 2006: 51.

[191] These observations clearly need more development with full local comparanda.

the new dating, essentially on the view that it offers 'an interesting and consistent historical context to Mnasistratos' initiatives', which Luraghi would link to 'a moment of powerful revival for Messenian tradition' at the start of the reign of Tiberius.[192]

The view taken here is that the down-dating by Themelis does indeed produce a more convincing historical context. Whatever the precise local circumstances, and Luraghi offers interesting speculation here, the larger setting should be seen as the participation of Messene in the movement in Greece to 'renew' ancient rites, a movement in ultimate dialogue with the mood of religious reform at Rome in the late first century BC. Mnasistratus, the hierophant whose 'cultural work' was chiefly responsible for the revival of the mysteries, in some respects was the Messenian counterpart to, as well as much younger contemporary of, Themistocles, the Athenian daduch of mid-Augustan date whose ritual innovations enhanced the conduct of the Eleusinian mysteries (below, section on 'Athens').

The text marks some kind of renewal of the mysteries of the Great Gods (*Megaloi Theoi*) celebrated in the sanctuary of (Apollo) Carneus, known as the Carneasium. The text prescribes the organisation and financing of the ritual in great detail, including rules for the procession, for correct dress, for the size of the tents in which the initiates camped, and so on. It also envisages the repair of unspecified buildings in the sanctuary (lines 54–56, 59–60 and 63), as well as the construction of two lockable chests of stone (*thesauroi*) for offerings of coin, of a kind commonly found in temples and sanctuaries (lines 89–92). As for Mnasistratus, his importance is clear from the fact that he is the only person singled out by name. His instigating role is suggested by the statement that (lines 12–13) he had already handed over 'the container (*kamptra*) and the scrolls (*biblia*)', to the college charged with the organisation of the mysteries, the annual college of so-called *hieroi* or Holy Men, who were to hand them over in turn to their successors. Ahead even of the priests, he was to lead the procession (line 28) from Messene out to the Carneasium marking the start of the mysteries, a distance of some 10 kilometres.[193] He was to be repaid for the 6000 drachmae which he had advanced 'for the crown offered by the city' (lines 52–53). He was to have charge 'of the spring called Hagna, according to the ancient writings (*archaiai eggraphai*), and of the sacred statue (*agalma*) nearby the source, for as long as he lives and continues to take part with the *hieroi* in the sacrifices and in the Mysteries', and was to 'receive the offerings of the sacrificers placed near the source and the skins of the victims', as well as 'a

[192] Luraghi 2008b: 294–300. [193] Deshours 2006: 119.

quarter of the coin which the sacrificers offered near the source or placed in the chest once constructed' (lines 85–89), this being the stone *thesauros* to be placed near the source, of which Mnasistratus was to have one of the two keys (line 92). Finally, he was to be invited to the annual sacred banquet along with his wife and progeny (line 97).

The role of Mnasistratus in the restoration of the mysteries is clarified by an Argive inscription found in 1904 at the site of the oracular sanctuary of Apollo Pythaeus on the Larissa, the acropolis of ancient Argos. This text, which is incomplete, after listing the cult officials at the time, goes on as follows:

> . . . the oracle concerning the city of the Messenians was written down according to the decree of the magistrates and the councillors, Mnasistratus the hierophant having inquired on the matter of the sacrifices and the mysteries: the god gave this oracle: (He does well) to offer to the Great Carnean Gods the sacrifice which is agreeable to them, according to the ancestral customs (*ta patria*). I also tell the Messenians to accomplish the mysteries [*text breaks off*].[194]

These two Messenians named Mnasistratus are clearly identical.[195] The down-dating proposed by Themelis is not an insuperable objection to this identification, since Vollgraff could only date the letter-forms of the Argive inscription loosely to 'the second or first century BC'.[196] The cult at the Carneasium is first attested in the years around 300 BC. But the mysteries are first encountered precisely in the Mnasistratus inscription: that is, on the Themelis dating, in AD 24.[197] It has been suggested that the mysteries may have been older but that they were interrupted when this part of Messenian territory was assigned to Megalopolis in 182 BC. Mnasistratus would have belonged to a priestly lineage of Hellenistic Messene which from generation to generation guarded the cult objects permitting initiation into these mysteries, retaining them after the conjectured interruption of the rite. By handing over to the *hieroi* the *kamptra* and the scrolls, and perhaps other items constituting the 'mystical cult objects' (*hiera mustika*) borne in wagons during the procession (line 30), he became a civic benefactor, recompensed by the city of Messene with the signal privileges set out in the regulations.[198]

[194] Vollgraff 1909: 175–200 no. 2; 445 (photograph); *SIG*[3] 735; Piérart 1990: 330–1. Deshours 2006: 66–72, whose translation of the oracle (69) I follow, with the retention of the dative plural in line 27: so Luraghi 2008b: 296 n. 16.

[195] E.g. Deshours 2006: 66–70.

[196] Vollgraff 1909: 175.

[197] *SEG* 52.412, a dedication from Messene, *c.* 300 BC, to (Apollo) Carneus by the '*Karneiasstas*' and six *hieroi*.

[198] See especially Deshours 2006: 72–7; Luraghi 2008b: 295–300.

The impulse behind this act of ritual innovation at the Carneasium needs evaluation against the distinctive mood of religious restoration pervasive in Augustan Greece on the one hand and, on the other, the peculiar circumstances in which the city of Messene found itself as a result of its history, or rather lack of it, or, at any rate, lack of the right sort of history. Outside the text of Pausanias, the civic traditions of Messene rarely feature in the writers of the imperial age. The city's insignificance in the Roman narrative of Classical Greece is underlined by the paucity of evidence for high-ranking Roman visitors aside from provincial magistrates. No visit to Messene is recorded for Aemilius Paulus in 167 BC or for any of the Roman emperors who visited Greece. The stark exception to this story of indifference is book four of the *Description of Greece* by Pausanias, which describes at inordinate length the historical traditions of the Messenians and endows them with an impressive antiquity prior to the archaic conquest of Messenia by the Spartans. Prominently woven into this description are the mysteries formerly celebrated at Andania, seat of the old Messenian royalty. Pausanias presents an account of the origins of these mysteries which firmly inscribes them into the distant Messenian past. As he tells the story, just before the Messenians were conquered by the Spartans in archaic times, their king Aristomenes buried a tin sheet inscribed with 'the mystery' (*teletē*) inside a bronze urn (*hydria*) on Mt Ithome. Centuries later, after the Theban liberation of Messenia, Epiteles, an (otherwise unknown) Argive general overseeing the rebuilding of Messene, was instructed by an old hierophant who appeared to him in a dream to dig up the urn. This he duly excavated and presented to the famous Epaminondas, whereby the mystery came to be written down in scrolls (*biblous*) by Messenian priests, thus (by implication) permitting their reconstruction. This miraculously preserved urn was on display at the Carneasium in the time of Pausanias.[199]

Messenian history as recounted by Pausanias has been much discussed by historians. Much of it must go back in its essentials to the aftermath of the refoundation of Messene in 369 BC, and was probably mediated for Pausanias by Hellenistic writers such as Myron of Priene and Rhianus of Crete.[200] The origin of the story of the rediscovery of the mysteries, clearly a fabrication, has been variously ascribed by scholars to the period after the foundation of Messene or (a minority view) to a local historian postdating

[199] Paus. 4.1.5; 4.26.6–8; 27.5; 35.6.
[200] Luraghi 2008b: 297–8; see 83–94 further. Also Graf 2003: 242–3.

the recovery of the mysteries in the time of Mnasistratus, or even to Mnasistratus himself.[201] It is true that the tradition which Pausanias records had probably received further development since the time of Mnasistratus. Most extraordinarily, in the text of the travel writer the Great Gods have become the Great Goddesses and their cult claimed as a branch of the Eleusinian mysteries founded at Andania by priests from Athens. The broad explanation for the further evolution of this remarkably mobile legend seems to be a later reform of the cult stemming from a Messenian desire to share in the enormous prestige of Eleusis, which reached its ancient acme under Hadrian and the Antonines (Chapter 6).[202] The ancient Messenian kings supposedly had their seat at Andania, a place in ruins in the time of Pausanias despite being the legendary home of the mysteries.[203] This discrepancy could be taken to indicate that, when the cult of the Great Gods was established at the Carneasium in the decades after the refoundation of Messene, there were as yet neither mysteries nor, perhaps, a cultic link with the legendary age of the kings.[204] The real possibility must be allowed that these mysteries were an imaginative creation of the age of Mnasistratus – the early principate on the dating of Themelis – and that one aim was to use a festival, in the time-honoured manner of ancient ritual, to showcase a continuing connection with the legendary age of the Messenian kings. I say 'chief' purpose advisedly: the mysteries as constructed in the regulations also put on display the modesty of Messenian womanhood – a theme with deep roots in Greek religious ritual but also chiming with Augustan concerns – through strict regulation of their dress and comportment, as well as creating a religious experience open to all classes and one which exploited, through a market, the economic opportunities provided by large gatherings of people.[205] The answer to the question, as to how this creation and the version of events which it embodied became authoritative, is answered by the nature of the instruments which Mnasistratus surrendered to the city: the *kamptra* with its scrolls and 'ancient writings', acceptable to a local elite in broad sympathy with the underlying purposes of the act of recreation. An old idea, that the version of Messenian history which Pausanias records was taken from an unknown local historian

[201] A view which goes back to Wilamowitz, as noted by Ogden 2004: 97, 138, 151, who does not embrace the view, while keeping it in play.
[202] See Deshours 2006: 213–18; Luraghi 2008b: 93. [203] Paus. 4.33.6.
[204] Luraghi 2008b: 297 offers another explanation of this discrepancy.
[205] Deshours 2006: lines 16–26 (sartorial regulations, including those for women, girls and slaves admitted to the mysteries); 100–103 (market).

writing as late as the first century AD, merits serious reconsideration in the light of the redating proposed by Themelis.[206] Aristocrates of Sparta again comes to mind: another first-century AD local historian in this part of the Greek world and another, perhaps, of these local cultural brokers.

If the new date of AD 24 is correct, the project of Mnasistratus can be seen as part of a larger attempt by the Messenians in this period to address the absence of their *polis* from the history of the 'true' Greece. The recreation of the mysteries confronted this disadvantage by reminding the outside world in a ritually impressive fashion of a far hoarier Messenian antiquity. This same impulse animated the sacrifice to Aristomenes of which, as it happens, we first hear precisely under Augustus (Chapter 5) and also the ancient border dispute between Messene and Sparta over the *ager Dentheliatis*. This came before the Senate precisely in AD 25 at the instigation of the Spartans. The frontier region was of 'little practical advantage', but at this date it still mattered to the Messenians symbolically because it instantiated their claim to antiquity of race. As we learn from Tacitus, who was interested in the dispute, they held that the region had been granted to their legendary king Cresphontes when the Peloponnese was divided up among the descendants of Heracles.[207]

The Argives whose oracle Mnasistratus consulted were also engaged in a reworking of their mythic traditions in the early principate. The Romanity of this impulse is shown by the prominence of Argive legends in Augustan Rome: as well as the Danaid myth, also the Argive (and generally Dorian) figure of Apollo Agyieus, whose characteristic symbol, a pillar, appears in Augustan Rome as an attribute of the Palatine Apollo.[208] As a symbolic resource these Argive traditions were all the more important because Argos had not been one of the great cities of Classical Greece with a distinguished military tradition. Like the Messenians the Argives were compelled to reach further back in time to fashion a civic image for a Roman present, claiming ancestral merit based on their leadership of the Greeks in the Trojan Wars.[209] A passage in Pausanias supports this picture of Argive legends and rituals as vehicles for the assertion of Argive specialness in the

[206] Not ruled out by Luraghi 2008b: 295, 299, with Eduard Schwartz (1899) seeing the stimulus as the renewed boundary dispute between Messene and Sparta in AD 25.

[207] Tac. *Ann.* 4.43.1–3: *Contra Messenii veterem inter Herculis posteros divisionem Peloponnesi protulere, suoque regi Dentheliatem agrum, in quo id delubrum, cessisse; monimentaque eius rei sculpta saxis et aere prisco manere*. Quotation: Luraghi 2008b: 300; also 16–27.

[208] See Marchetti 2001b.

[209] As well as its ties of kinship with Philip and Alexander, whose lineage claimed Argive origins: [Julian], *Letters* 198 (Bidez).407b–408a with Spawforth 1994b (on the date, probably Trajanic). Cp. Dio Chrys. *Or.* 44.6; 31.157; 11.5 (Argives owe to their prominence in Homer their inclusion among the 'first and most famous of the Greek cities').

competitive inter-city climate of the principate: 'In all Greece the chief rival of Athens for antiquity and for the gifts it claims from the gods is Argos, just as Egypt rivals Phrygia in the world of the barbarians.'[210] Mnasistratus and the Messenians no doubt turned to the Argive oracle of Apollo Pythaeus because both cities were Dorian Greek. They enjoyed historical ties, if the Argive general Epiteles is to be trusted.[211] It is tempting to wonder if this oracle was not itself the object of a revival at much the same time as the activity of Mnasistratus. In imperial times the sanctuary is known from an inscription to have been the object of repairs.[212] There is also the striking manner in which the prophetess took inspiration: once a month, according to Pausanias, a lamb was sacrificed and the prophetess tasted its blood. Noting the 'original' character of this procedure in Apolline ritual, Marcel Piérart suggested 'chthonian' influence, citing a similar rite at the oracle of Ge at Aegira in Achaea, where the priestess drank the blood of a bull before descending into the cave to prophesy. Both these rites attracted the attention of contemporaries, in Aegira's case that of the elder Pliny, who was struck by this evident illustration of the workings of the Greek theory of 'sympathy'. Despite the Roman belief that bull's blood was poisonous, 'so strong is that famous sympathy I speak of that it sometimes becomes active under the influence of religious awe (*religio*) or of a place'.[213] Pliny's source was probably C. Licinius Mucianus, consul for the third time in AD 70, and author of works on wonders to be seen in Greece and elsewhere, based, at least sometimes, on autopsy. It is tempting to see these blood-drinking rites as creative embellishments coloured by Roman tastes and ideas and attractive to Roman visitors like Mucianus, who is also known to have visited Argos.[214]

In imagining why Mnasistratus turned to Argos, finally, 'networking' between Argos and Messene is possible at the level of their respective councils of sacred elders. These were similar bodies in terms of social composition and, probably, function. Both had been endowed with a new consciousness of their roles by the regime of Augustus, which probably licensed their new titles.[215] A cylindrical altar from Messene, inscribed as '(belonging to) the Great Carnean Gods Manifest, who share the altar with the Ancestral (Gods) ('*Patrō(i)oi*') and Augustus Caesar', testifies to

[210] Paus. 1.14.2. [211] Paus. 4.26.7. Luraghi 2008b: 214–15.
[212] Piérart 1990: 320, citing an inscription which mentions the *theoi Sebastoi*.
[213] Paus. 2.24.1–2. Plin. *HN* 28.41.147.
[214] *PIR*^{2} L 216. Autopsy: e.g. Plin. *HN* 7.4.36. Note that Aegira in the first century BC was 'networked' into Rome-orientated structures of patronage: *RP* I ACH 65 (civic honours for P. Caninius Zeno).
[215] As assumed by Marchetti 2001b: 458 in the Argive case.

a local impulse to conjoin these cults.[216] This impulse could have come from the sacred elders, directly involved as we saw in the imperial cult, and whose prominent members included several generations of the rich family of Mnasistratus son of Philoxenidas, their secretary in AD 42. He was father of a 'star of the sacred council' and himself from a line of benefactors of the elders.[217] Assuming that the secretary and the hierophant were indeed one and the same, his father Philoxenidas could well have played a leading part in the integration of Augustus into the traditional pantheon of the city by means of the cult at the Carneasium, with which the family must have had a hereditary link. Mnasistratus as 'hierophant' then brought to fruition the 'recreation' of the mysteries, doing so as a man in his thirties or forties, before serving as secretary of the elders twenty or so years later, when he would have been elderly himself. What is striking – a point returned to in the next chapter – is the ritual creativity of the Messenians at this juncture, responding in their own way to the classicising culture of the Augustan age by presenting their own version of a prestigious link with distant ancestors.

SPARTA

Apart from the innovation in the form of the whipping contest proposed in Chapter 2, how the pulse of civic religion is taken at Augustan Sparta depends largely on how one understands the practice of inscribing lists of names of cultic celebrants, which suddenly emerges in the late first century BC and subsides early in the first AD. There are three classes of the lists in question. I have suggested elsewhere that, taken together, they point to a flowering of traditional cults at Augustan Sparta.[218] Annette Hupfloher cautions that my historicising interpretation undervalues the role of chance in the survival of these inscriptions.[219] But there is the coincidence that all three types of text are known neither from earlier nor later in Spartan history, as well as telling prosopographical links with C. Iulius Eurycles, the Spartan 'friend' of Augustus and leader of his city until his fall from favour, and his circle of local supporters. As suggested in the earlier discussion of lists of cult personnel from Olympia, the act of inscription is in itself performative. It constitutes an assertion of the

[216] *SEG* 43.163, with the rereading of *SEG* 44.376. Deshours 2004: 124–5 and 2006: 218.
[217] *SEG* 11.982.5–6; 23.208.8–12. See Deshours 2004: 119; also 117, citing the extremely rich Mnasistratus of *IG* v, 1, 1532.11, probably a member of the same lineage.
[218] Cartledge and Spawforth 2002: 99. [219] Hupfloher 2000: 194 n. 73.

piety of those involved and of their wish to immortalise their participation, especially where aristocratising 'dynasties' of local notables are involved.

Two inscriptions of Augustan date, close in date since two of the same children recur in both, list the annual board of the three Spartan *hierothytai* and associated personnel.[220] These sacrificial magistrates first appear at Sparta in the second century BC, as the magistrates responsible for inviting honoured foreigners to partake of public hospitality at Sparta's 'common hearth'.[221] After a century of silence, they then burst back into the record in these Augustan lists reflecting religious rituals which can be reconstructed in broad outline. On prescribed days at Augustan Sparta, at an outside altar in or near the agora, the three magistrates presiding over the sacrifice arrived with the animal victims at the place of slaughter in a solemn procession. This would have been the moment for prayers. After the slaughter Alcibia, daughter of Tisamenus, the woman named in the more complete of these catalogues as 'seer' (*mantis*), would have taken the omens. This was a deeply traditional ritual; indeed, Alcibia had inherited her specialism by virtue of the descent which she claimed – as her father's name indicates – from Tisamenus of Elis. This famous fifth-century BC seer had 'acted as diviner for the Greek forces at Plataea'; having accepted Spartan citizenship he founded a Spartan lineage celebrated at Roman Sparta, where Pausanias saw a bronze statue of his grandson in the agora.[222] The family of Alcibia must have claimed this lineage just like the Iamidae of Elis, hereditary seers who, along with the Clytiadae, started to appear in the Olympian lists from the mid-thirties BC, as we saw earlier. After divination, the victim would have been butchered by the professional *mageiros*, Eutychidas, perhaps a slave or freedman, who would then have cooked the meat, perhaps boiling it in a cauldron over the civic hearth before serving it to the reclining *hierothytai* in Sparta's public dining room. Both catalogues include lists of Spartan young boys and girls (*paidia*) who took part in the ceremonies of the *hierothytai*. Greek words for age groups are notoriously vague. The term *paidion* means young child, although in Attic authors it is occasionally interchangeable with *pais*, 'boy', and the Hippocratic definition of a *paidion* as a child of up to seven years is thought to be overschematic.[223] Even so, we should assume young children here. In the

[220] *IG* v, 1, 141–2; *SEG* 11.499; Hupfloher 2000: 166–7. Children: 141.19–20 and 142.2–3 (the sons of Pratolaus; Deximachus and his brother Sidectas).

[221] *IG* v, 1, 4, lines 21–23. [222] Hdt. 6.33–36. Paus. 3.11.6–8.

[223] Hp. ap. Ph. 1.26; Golden 1990: 14–16, noting that in Attic authors '[f]urther elaboration is required to give even *paidion* and *paidarion* the meaning "small child" unequivocally, an adjective or a descriptive phrase'.

patronomate of Aristocratidas, the seventeen *paidia* whose names are preserved included five girls;[224] the other list preserves three.[225] They perhaps formed a mixed choir, as suggested in Chapter 2, where their families are shown to have belonged to the elite of Roman Sparta, including, in the list dated by the patronomate of Aristocratidas, two children of Eurycles, Rhadamanthys and Deximachus.[226] As with the Olympia lists, the possibility should at least be raised that these lists of *hierothytai* from the years around 20 BC project a restoration of the ritual in a bid to make it more impressive: in particular the cultic involvement of children of both sexes, something without precedent in what is known of Spartan religion, catches the eye.

The same circles at Augustan Sparta reappear in the two other types of cultic list from Augustan Sparta. One type, of which three examples survive, lists the 'Taenarii', celebrants of a sacrificial festival of Taenarian Poseidon. The other type (four examples) lists sacred diners (*hoi sitēthentes*) in a sacred banquet in honour of the Dioscuri.[227] Prosopography shows that the three lists of Taenarii are close to one another in date. The eponymous *patronomos* Aristocratidas of one also dates the best-preserved list of *hierothytai*. Likewise, the catalogues of Taenarii can be assigned to the early and middle years of the Augustan era.[228] The lists of sacred diners in honour of the Dioscuri include members of the Pratolaus family, kin of Eurycles. In the best-preserved list, from the patronomate of Nicocles, the same two brothers, Deximachus and Sidectas, sons of Pratolaus, recur as adults, with a young son of Deximachus, another Pratolaus, listed six lines further down in a junior position, as if he were still a boy. This list of sacred diners, then, belongs to the later years of the reign of Augustus.[229]

The Spartan sanctuary of Taenarian Poseidon, known to Pausanias,[230] was an offshoot of the more famous sanctuary on Cape Taenarum. Its origins lay in a much earlier age, when the cape was under indirect Spartan control; it perhaps already existed in the time of Thucydides.[231] The

[224] *IG* v, 1, 141, 12, 13, 15, 16, 23: Damocratia, Callicratia, Hippicha, Aristonica, Theoclea.
[225] *IG* v, 1, 142, 15, 23, 24: Epichareia; Pasarion (a female name *pace* Hupfloher 2000: 167: *LGPN* iii.A, s.v.), Harmonicia.
[226] Spawforth 1985: 195, correcting Kolbe's reconstruction of the layout of the stone.
[227] *IG* v, 1, 206–9 (*hoi sitēthentes*); 210–12 (Taenarii).
[228] For the closely linked dating of *IG* v, 1, 210–12 see Kolbe's accompanying commentary. 212.1 is dated by the *patronomos* Aristocratidas of *IG* v, 1, 141.
[229] *IG* v, 1, 209, 4–5, 11. *IG* v, 1, 206 is dated by a Sidectas and lists an otherwise unknown Deximachus son of Sidectas (lines 1–2). If this Sidectas is the younger son of Pratolaus, the list could date from late in the reign of Augustus.
[230] Paus. 3.12.5. [231] See Couvenhes 2008: esp. 304–6.

unexpected efflorescence of the Spartan cult under Augustus coincided with the Spartan hegemony of Eurycles, a dominant figure not only in Sparta but also in the cities of the Laconian coast, where the family were hereditary benefactors. He himself, like his father, was a navarch. This maritime orientation of the family of Eurycles perhaps explains why, against a larger background of religious restoration in Augustan Greece, this particular cult was singled out for new investment. Funds were certainly needed to pay for the annual festival, which included a procession parading the statue of the god, music and song, bathing, a traditional sacrifice with omen-taking and a ritual banquet served up to some forty Taenarii.[232]

Although the lists of Taenarii do not refer explicitly to the family or kinsmen of Eurycles, the case is otherwise – as we saw earlier – with the lists of 'those who dined' at a Spartan festival of the Dioscuri. The most complete list of participants – dated to the later years of Augustus – includes among the cultic personnel an architect, a sculptor and a gilder.[233] Their inclusion suggests the restoration of a neglected sanctuary, as in the Messenian regulations for mysteries at the Carneasium, which envisaged repairs and new constructions, for which (lines 91–92) an architect was consulted. At Sparta this sculptor and gilder point to repairs to sacred images housed within a shrine, perhaps centred on the historic 'house of the Tyndaridae' known to Pausanias.[234] Again recalling the Messenian regulations, which reserve a special place for Mnasistratus and his family in the annual sacred banquet (line 97), this same Spartan list singles out a particular family group, as discussed above: the two sons of Pratolaus and his grandson, another Pratolaus. The two sons are named immediately after the priest and priestess, the brother–sister couple Eurybanassa and Tyndares. They were all evidently related: the elder Pratolaus was probably the husband of Eurybanassa. The 'theophoric' name 'Tyndares' suggests that the priestly couple belonged to a lineage claiming descent from the Dioscuri, Spartan deities *par excellence*.[235] On the analogy with Mnasistratus, the family of Pratolaus would have owed its hereditary dining privileges to benefaction, perhaps connected to the restoration of the cult. The same family links

[232] Parading the god: *IG* v, 1, 210, 55; 211, 51; 212, 57. Bathing: *IG* v, 1, 210.61. Music and song: 210.50–54; 211.49; 212.50–52.54–55. Kourinou 2000: 185–99 locates the sanctuary archaeologically, argues for its earliest appearance in Thuc. 1.133–134, and also proposes (p. 192) to see a revival. For a revisionist view of the ties of Eurycles to Laconia, see Balzat 2008.

[233] *IG* v, 1, 209, 17–19.

[234] *IG* v, 1, 206, 1–2; 209, 2–5, 11. Spawforth 1985: 193–7 for the family interrelationships. For the various cults and priesthoods of the Dioscuri at Roman Sparta see Hupfloher 2000: 107–24, whose views I broadly accept, including her suggestion that these particular feasts should be assigned to the sanctuary known from Paus. 3.16.3.

[235] See the refs. at Wide 1893: 304–25.

this restored cult to the faction or circle of Eurycles: Pratolaus and Eurycles both had sons named C. Iulius Deximachus, who seem to have been first cousins.

A revival in Augustan times has been claimed for another civic cult of the Dioscuri at Sparta. A base for statues of the 'manifest' (*epiphaneis*) Dioscuri records that the images had been set up at his own expense by a Spartan called Lysinicus son of Soteridas, on whom the Spartan *dēmos* had conferred the hereditary priesthood of these gods. As Hupfloher points out, the 'theophoric' name of the father, referencing the function of the Dioscuri as 'saviours' (*sōtēres*), shows that the family of Lysinicus, like that of Tyndares, also claimed a hereditary link with the Dioscuri. In turn the cult in question was probably not new, but an older one which Lysinicus reactivated, receiving its dormant priesthood as a reward. The family of Lysinicus was an important one and must have been rich. His rare name allows him to be recognised as the father of the children Lysinicus (II) and Gorgippidas, who walked alongside the boys of Eurycles in the rites of the *hierothytai* and who, much later in life, became Roman citizens as Publii Memmii. The daughter of the younger Lysinicus was a leading matron of Julio-Claudian Greece and seems to have married two Athenian notables in succession, Pammenes (III) of Marathon (probably) and (certainly) Ti. Claudius Novius of Oeum.[236]

This Romanity of the families of Pratolaus and of Lysinicus invites the possibility that their cultivation of the Dioscuri had a Roman dimension. Italian worship of the divine twins as Castor and Pollux was ancient, as a dedication to them in archaic Roman script on a bronze tablet from Lavinium shows.[237] Although their Roman worship was probably not a direct transfer from Greece, under Augustus Strabo could cite their cult at Rome as proof of Roman kinship with the Greeks.[238] In the same reign this cult attracted the patronage of the imperial house when Tiberius restored the old temple in the Forum Romanum, first dedicated in 448 BC, rebuilding it in marble, with a rededication in AD 6.[239] The restoration of

[236] *SEG* 11.679; Hupfloher 2000: 114–15. Family: Balzat and Spawforth 2010.

[237] Beard, North and Price 1998 II: 1.7b citing *ILLRP* 1271a. Strab. 5.232.

[238] Strab. 5.3.5 (C232). '. . . Demetrius (Poliorcetes) . . . when he sent back to the Romans what pirates he had captured, said that, although he was doing the Romans the favour of sending back the captives because of the kinship between the Romans and the Greeks, he did not deem it right for men to be sending out bands of pirates at the same time that they were in command of Italy, or to build in their Forum a temple in honour of the Dioscuri, and to worship them, whom we called Saviours, and yet at the same time send to Greece people who would plunder the native land of the Dioscuri' (transl. H. Leonard Jones).

[239] Zanker 1988: 105. *LTUR* 1 (1993) s.v. Castor, Aedes, Templum (I. Nielsen), citing Suet. *Tib.* 20; Cass. Dio 55.27.4; Ov. *Fasti* 1.705–706 for the date AD 6.

cults and sanctuaries of the Dioscuri at Augustan Sparta by well-connected (and well-informed) local families, advertised their piety and perhaps also their Romanity.

In this period the Spartans took a lively interest in Apollo's sanctuary at Delphi. Around 29 BC a prominent Delphian, Dorotheus son of Diodorus, was made a *proxenos* by the Spartans in recognition of his services at Delphi for Spartan visitors.[240] One of the *paidia* in the year of Aristocratidas, Alcimus son of Soclidas, as an adult was made a *proxenos* by the Delphians: this was round AD 23, when Alcimus was middle-aged. His name is so rare at Sparta that in all likelihood he traced his ancestry to a much earlier Spartan, another Alcimus, who, around 360 BC, is found serving on the panhellenic committee of 'temple-builders' (*naopoioi*) who were supervising the rebuilding of the temple of Apollo at Delphi.[241] The Spartans had ancient ties with both the sanctuary and, at least since the fourth century BC, with the Amphictyony, where from time to time they occupied one of the two places assigned to the Dorians of the Metropolis, quarrelling with them about these seats in 161/60 BC.[242] As recently as 86/5 BC, relations with Delphi had been warm enough for three Spartans to receive the Delphic proxeny.[243] Broadly speaking, what the Spartans were doing at Delphi in the triumviral era is revealed by the contemporary historian Diodorus Siculus: the Spartans even in his day (*eti kai nun*) continued to consult Delphi on matters of great weight.[244] As we saw earlier, the outburst of Athenian activity at the oracle in the thirties BC was probably connected with the recovery of old rituals. Greek cities routinely consulted oracles about matters of cult, not least where innovation was contemplated: we have already encountered the oracular embassies of the Athenian Gephyraei (probably) and of the Messenian Mnasistratus (certainly). Moves to restore Spartan cults – such as the Dioscuri or Taenarian Poseidon on the view taken here – would also have triggered oracular consultations. It is worth suggesting that activity of this kind, in part, underlay the liveliness of Spartan ties with Delphi in the decades around the turn of the first century BC.

[240] *FD* iii, 1, 487, inscribed on a monument set up in the sanctuary in his honour and inscribed with other decrees for him voted by Greek cities (488–96).

[241] *LGPN* iii.A s.v. has just four entries (nos. 16–19) for Sparta, including (no. 16) the *naopoios* and (nos. 18–19) a *gerōn*, Alcimus son of Alcimus, probably a descendant of Alcimus son of Socleidas (no. 17).

[242] Sánchez 2001: 466; cp. 396, a quarrel known from a Delphic inscription between Sparta and the Dorians of the Metropolis over places on the council in 161/60 BC.

[243] Kolbe to *IG* v, 1, p. xv.76–78 citing *Inv. Delph.* no. 4681.

[244] Diod. Sic. 16.57.4; note also 14.13.3: the Spartans are especially keen on oracles.

ATHENS

This chapter faces the methodological challenge that the evidence rarely speaks directly to the many small acts of ritual reconstitution which its core thesis presupposes. This has to do with the fundamentally hidden nature of ritual history:

> It is much more common for the real history of ritual acts to be ignored or systematically obliterated in order to give legitimacy to present practices, and sometimes new forms of ritual acts are presented as nothing more than the old. (Humphreys and Laidlaw 1994: 157)

The efforts of Mnasistratus the hierophant leave unclear whether the newly regulated rites in the Carneasium were an accurate reconstruction or (the view preferred here) an invention of tradition. These efforts do at least shed light on the kind of cult instruments which must have been regularly deployed to authorise these acts of reconstruction: the 'ancient writings' and the 'scrolls'. Similar paraphernalia recur in an Athenian inscription which preserves one of the most explicit references to ritual innovation in the Greece of Augustus. In his study of Augustan Athens published in 1927, Graindor had already wondered whether Athens participated in the religious renaissance marking, at Rome, the accession to power of Augustus. His thinking, in my view, was on exactly the right lines, and this section sets out the evidence. Graindor ended up by rejecting the idea, surely because the centrepiece of this documentation was only published eight years later, in 1935.This text is a long decree of over 68 lines in honour of Themistocles son of Theophrastus of Hagnous, a member of the *genos* of the Ceryces, for services rendered as the torch-bearer or daduch of the Eleusinian mysteries.[245] As we saw in Chapter 3, this Themistocles was an aristocratic figure, a descendant of his famous namesake, the hero of Salamis, and husband of a direct descendant of the fourth-century BC statesman Lycurgus. In this decree, voted when he was about forty, he is lauded for his noble birth (*eugeneia*) within the clan of the Ceryces, by virtue of which he received his Eleusinian priesthood in succession (*eg diadochēs*) from his father and before him eight other ancestors (lines 37–56). His particular achievement is described as follows (lines 34–37):[246]

[245] Clinton 1974: 50–2; *Eleusis* no. 300 (text, photograph and commentary). The original publication by K. Kourouniotes in 1932 came too late to be taken account of by Graindor 1927: 137–8.

[246] The translation of these lines follows Clinton 1974: 56 along with his more recent rendering of *ekplēxis* (Clinton 1992: 86).

. . . and by the excellence of his service as daduch (he) increased the solemnity and dignity of the cult; thereby the magnificence of the mysteries is felt by all to have greater awesomeness (*ekplēxis*) and its proper adornment . . .

The term *ekplēxis* connects Themistocles with the most secret part of the initiatory drama, likened in antiquity to a kind of death, when the initiates within the sacred hall (*anaktoron*) were enclosed in total darkness until a female figure suddenly appeared with a torch, light returned, and the initiates were presented with a climactic vision, perhaps 'extraordinary images' of Demeter and Core, lit from the inside.[247] More details of this achievement are given in lines 61–68:[248]

. . . in unremitting activity for the greater glory of the *genos* and for the distinctions due to it and to each of the priests who are appointed from the *genos*, he has accomplished, in the investigation (*zētēsis*) that occurred in connection with the registers (*apographai*), many valuable services, after exerting himself zealously to discover the ancestral laws (*patria*), a subject in which he had acquired expert knowledge not only from the office of daduch which had come to him after being the family priesthood for many generations but also from his noble effort for the *genos* toward the recovery of the *patria* which had become obsolete . . .

Kevin Clinton comments on these *patria*: 'The memory of these practices was apparently still alive, in some measure, within his family, but a certain amount of research was necessary in order to complete the task.'[249] Part of the recovery efforts of Themistocles involved *apographai*, a word which in other contexts can mean (singular) 'notice of candidature' or, in the Egyptian papyri, 'registration of property'.[250] The precise nature of these Athenian *apographai*, and of the involvement of Themistocles with them, is less than clear from the text, which breaks off at this point. Clinton, most recently, has linked this particular activity of the daduch to a 'verification of membership in the Kerykes'.[251] Notwithstanding, this passage has been used to claim wide-ranging reforms in Augustan Athens. The first to do so was J. H. Oliver, who argued for 'a serious change, not in the Athenian constitution, but in how the Athenian constitution functioned'.[252] In a posthumously published paper the late Sara Aleshire rejected this interpretation in favour of a reform targeting the religious organisation of Athens. Themistocles would have been its architect and its main effect would have been to reconstitute moribund or extinct *genē*, the aim being to 'regularise'

[247] Clinton 1992: 84–7 with the evidence for this reconstruction.
[248] The translation is by Oliver 1950: 50, reproduced by Clinton 1974: 56, with my adjustment of lines 64–65.
[249] *Eleusis* no. 300 (commentary), to which I am heavily indebted.
[250] Oliver 1980 = Oliver 1983: 29 n. 32. [251] *Eleusis* no. 300. [252] Oliver 1980 = Oliver 1983: 14.

tenure of Athenian priesthoods, many of them provided by these same clans. Stephen Lambert has, I think rightly, raised objections to this theory of wholesale reform, which the textual evidence does not fully support.[253] He points out, among other things, that the decree for Themistocles praises his researches only on behalf of one *genos*, the Ceryces (his own). Lambert suggests instead 'piecemeal reforms over a period of time, perhaps instituted by individual *genē*'. This view is, I believe, much closer to the truth. A totalising reconstruction of 'Athenian religion' requiring the active participation of all the *genē* was not the end in view of the 'renewing' activity of the late first century BC. The aim, rather, was to restore, or reinvent, particular cults and practices where they intersected with contemporary, and above all Roman, concerns.

Out of this discussion two points emerge clearly. Firstly, Aleshire emphasised that *genos* reform above all was about ensuring a supply of incumbents for the civic priesthoods attached to individual *genē*, a matter involving, of course, funding. Secondly, Lambert has stressed that the traditionalism inherent in the activity of Themistocles and other 'renewals' in civic religion at Athens in this period was 'implicitly Romanising': 'tradition of this kind will have contributed to the maintenance of a civic identity which delivered to the Romans an Athens that they could admire'.[254] This view is exactly right in my judgement. A case for the specific admiration of Augustus for the daduch Themistocles is now made.

Augustus and Themistocles had a personal relationship. As Clinton has pointed out, Themistocles must have officiated at the second initiation in 19 BC. His father Theophrastus, who was the preceding daduch, would have officiated at the first initiation twelve years earlier.[255] Whether this relationship extended to imperial involvement in the Athenian conferment of honours on the daduch hinges on the archonship of Apolexis which dates the decree for Themistocles. Roughly this archonship fell in the era

[253] *Pace* Aleshire in Aleshire and Lambert 2011: 560, two passages cited by her, and J. H. Oliver previously, in support of the view that all citizens in Roman-imperial Athens belonged to *genē*, cannot bear this interpretation. Philostr. *VS* 2.3 (549) states that Atticus (*cos. suff.* 133), the father of Herodes, used to feast 'the Athenian people by tribes and *genē*'. All this shows is that Atticus sometimes feasted all the citizen tribes, sometimes all the citizen *genē*. Likewise the Athenian decree for the accession of Geta ordaining *thuein pangenei*, 'sacrifices by all the *genē*', means just what it says: the *genē* with their institutional structure and funds were all asked to carry out imperial sacrifices. The involvement of all *Athenians* comes next, in the vaguer injunction 'to keep festival both publicly and privately for the whole imperial family'. *IG* ii², 1077.29 = *Agora* 15.460. Rightly the doubts of Lambert in Aleshire and Lambert 2011: 567.

[254] Quotation from Aleshire and Lambert 2011: 569.

[255] Clinton 1974: 55 (the daduch Theophrastus). Age requirement of 'normally ca. forty years': Clinton, *Eleusis* no. 300.

of the second and third visits of Augustus to Athens. Apolexis is known for sure to have held office late in the period 25/4 to 18/17 BC. The fullest recent discussion favours 20/19 BC, although 21/20 BC has also been canvassed. The decree was passed at a meeting of the Athenian assembly on (line 4) the twenty-first day (*dekatē hustera*) of the Athenian month Anthesterion, that is, sometime in February or March of 19 BC (on the most favoured dating of Apolexis). The possibility now arises of a synchronism between this meeting of the Athenian assembly and the visit of Augustus to Athens on his way home from Samos in 19 BC.[256] It is true that a case has been made for Augustus still being on Samos in July of 19 BC, but it is a weak one resting on a speculative restoration of a month-name in a (?) letter written by Augustus to the Samians sometime during his stay.[257] Had he stayed on Samos until July, it is less obvious why, according to Dio, his second initiation in 19 BC required the mysteries on his account to be celebrated out of the normal time, which was mid-Boedromion, roughly late September.[258]

This possibility of a synchronism suggests in turn that the local impulse behind these honours for Themistocles had something to do with the personal enthusiasm of Augustus for the Eleusinian cult and, perhaps, pending news of his second initiation. It is true that the surviving text makes no direct mention of Rome or the emperor. But an oblique reference to Roman initiates can be recognised: the enhancements to the Eleusinian ritual effected by Themistocles are said to have won the approbation of 'all men' (lines 36–37, *hupo pantos anthrōpou*), not just Greeks. The decision of the Ceryces to seek civic honours for Themistocles at precisely this time, and the willingness of the Athenians to grant them, surely had something to do with the high regard of Augustus for not just the cult, but also the family of the daduch. The princeps would obviously have approved of the daduch's activities aimed at restoring the old rituals, enhancing as a result the religious experience of initiates, both Greek and Roman. It was precisely

[256] Geagan 1979a opted for 22/1 BC, which he took as the archon-year in which Augustus's visit fell. Schmalz 1996: 395–4 favoured 21/20 BC for the same reasons. He also admitted the lesser probability of the dating favoured by Kallet-Marx and Stroud 1997: 178–81: *c.* 20/19 BC, considered 'highly likely' (but without consideration of Geagan 1979a). Byrne 2003a: 487 has dated the third hoplite-generalship of Antipater of Phlya with which the archonship synchronises (as shown by Geagan 1979a) to 24/3 BC. Clinton, *Eleusis* no. 300, also favours 20/19 BC (see his commentary).

[257] Sherk 1969: no. 62 line 3, rightly stressing the uncertainty of the restoration of the month Hecatombaion (July), only the first letter of the month being preserved on the stone, and Hecatombaion being otherwise unknown as a Samian month. Accepted by Halfmann 1986: 161, although the dating of *IG* ii/iii², 1071 to Augustus' second visit which he adduces in support is less than secure: see *Agora* 16.336 ('*a. 22/1 a., vel paullo ante*').

[258] Cass. Dio 54.9.7.

this kind of academic and ritual expertise which Augustus exploited in his religious reforms in Rome itself, reforms which had revived forgotten rites and elevated the social prestige of priesthood.[259]

The involvement of Augustus with the passage of this decree may have gone further. The text makes clear that the initiative for the decree came from the clan of the Ceryces, who appointed a delegation to approach the assembly. What is striking is the size and distinction of this delegation, which was twenty-strong and included at least seven Athenians who had or would hold the eponymous archonship.[260] Not content with this force of twenty, the clan deputed a further nine of its members to accompany it, all presumably chosen because they were holders of sacred office. They included other Eleusinian dignitaries, notably the altar-priest, the sacred herald, the fire-bearer and the carrier of the sacred stone, and perhaps represented the entire priestly cohort of the Ceryces clan at this time.[261] The well-born leader of the delegation, Diotimus son of Diodorus of Halae, is a by-now familiar figure, kinsman of Pammenes (II), the priest of Roma and Augustus on the Acropolis, and himself the Buzyges and priest of Zeus in the Palladium. His involvement on this occasion, as well as his tenure of priesthoods and his civic post, held since *c.* 30/29 BC at the latest, of 'expounder appointed by the people from the eupatrids' define him as a zealous upholder of Athenian religious customs in the same vein as Themistocles himself, and operating likewise in a context of direct contact with the Roman leadership.[262]

It is tempting to suggest that the large turnout of the 'great and the good' of Augustan Athens for this particular assembly meeting was prompted by the anticipated presence in the theatre of Dionysus, where the meeting was held, of a visitor of paramount eminence, namely Augustus himself with his entourage, come to register publicly his approval of the meritorious religious services of the daduch. On this hypothesis, the prospect of the imminent arrival of Augustus in Athens would have triggered the proposal of these honours in the first place. The absence of any mention of the princeps in the preamble to the decree is not an obstacle to this hypothesis. Like the omission of imperial portraits and retention of traditional denominations and types on Athenian coinage under Augustus and successive emperors, these modest contributions to maintaining the illusion of a traditional and unchanging city were entirely in keeping with the

[259] Zanker 1988: 118–35. Wallace-Hadrill 1997: 14 on the 'massive and pervasive "restoration" of tradition defined by antiquarian learning' which Augustus fostered by resort to academics.
[260] Noted by Habicht 1997a: 327–8. [261] K. Clinton (pers. comm.).
[262] Habicht 1997a: 326, 327. *FD* iii, 2, 59; Oliver 1950: 148–9.

classicising idealisation of Athens among the Romans themselves.[263] One would then have to imagine that the special celebration of the mysteries permitting the second initiation, presumably a bringing forward of the celebration due in September of the same year, occurred in the weeks or even months that followed, if Augustus on this occasion enjoyed a prolonged stay in Athens, as Schäfer has argued.[264]

As we have seen, the return to prominence of the Athenian *genē* can be traced back to the second half of the second century BC. However, there is a marked 'spike' to this rising profile in the Athens of Antony and (above all) Augustus. The Romanity of this revival should now be clear, and also the way in which it served the interests of a '*de facto* oligarchy' of pro-Roman families.[265] By the time of Augustus, as Lambert has rightly suggested, these families would have been well aware of the Roman *gentes*. These Roman descent-groups also controlled cults and and priesthoods, and as such must have featured in the first book of Varro's *Divine Antiquities*, dealing with Roman priests. As Lambert notes, 'the linguistic similarity between the two terms must have encouraged comparisons'.[266] As well as serving to highlight this comparability, the 'spike' reflects what should probably be understood as a large-scale, if selective, reconstruction of half-forgotten cults and ceremonies in late-first-century BC Athens, mainly instigated by a small circle of leading Athenians, a number of whom we have already met. Their chosen instrument was the *genos*, the traditionally corporate nature of which provided a mechanism for funding the costly business of maintaining a cult and its ritual paraphernalia.

Two case studies provide clear examples of the Romanity of this movement. The first concerns the Amynandridae, a *genos* not heard of explicitly until the reign of Augustus.[267] In the same year as the dedication of the temple of Roma and Augustus, the archon of this *genos*, Areus son of Dorio of Paeania, had the names of the membership – over sixty individuals – inscribed at his expense. Like other *genē* which 'reappear' in this period, this *genos* – as the list reveals – provided a hereditary civic priest, here of Cecrops.[268] Areus was also the eponymous archon of the year and therefore a distinguished figure. Both the priest of Cecrops and the treasurer were freeborn Athenians. The rank-and-file membership, however, constituted

[263] Coinage: Kroll 1997: 144–6.
[264] As suggested by Schäfer 1998: 62, also arguing, on somewhat different grounds, for an imperial arrival in spring 19 BC.
[265] For this observation see *OCD*[3] s.v. genos (J. K. Davies).
[266] Lambert in Aleshire and Lambert 2011: 570. Momigliano 2003: 153 (Varro).
[267] A point made by Lambert, in Aleshire and Lambert 2011: 556 n. 33.
[268] *IG* ii[2], 2338; *SEG* 30.120.

a far more mixed bag socially. A majority comprised Athenians enrolled in citizen-tribes but lacking a patronymic, usually an indicator of freedman origin: men such as 'Epigonus of Anagyrus', 'Clitomachus of Anagyrus', 'Eusebes of Pambotadae' and 'Athenaeus of Lamptrae' (lines 17–18, 20–21, followed by a further 29 cases). There are also members with Roman names: C. Rubrius of Pallene (line 65), Plotius son of Aulus of Athmone (line 73) and Vargon[ius] (line 38). These names shed rare light on a heterogeneous sub-elite at Augustan Athens: not just *peregrini* of servile stock, but also Roman citizens such as C. Rubrius and (perhaps) Plotius A. f., Romans who had settled (or whose ancestors had) at Athens and who lived as Athenians; also Athenians using a Roman name as a Greek personal name, including the extremely rare 'Vargonius'. These Roman names point to *genos* members affiliated to the sizable community of Italian immigrants in Athens, many of them having links with Delos, as in the case of this Plotius.[269] In the first century BC this milieu infiltrated Athenian institutions, the ephebate and the lower magistracies.[270] The social ambitions and cultural horizons of its richest members are revealed by the figure – probably exceptional – of the Athenian Novius son of Philinus of Oeum, whose paternal origins were not Italian but who, like Vargonius, bore a *nomen* hinting at a family association with *negotiatores*. As we have seen already, this Novius was a prominent figure in the 'classical revival' of early-imperial Greece. Roman 'influence' at Athens, then, was much more than a matter of intensified contacts between the elite and its Roman counterpart, decisive though these no doubt were. At the start of the principate Athenian society was a mélange of 'Greek', 'Italian' and 'Roman'.

Returning to the Amynandridae, their social composition alone suggests a substantially new *genos* in its Augustan form. James Oliver concluded similarly, on the different but equally persuasive grounds that the fairly even distribution of the membership among the tribes looks 'too artificial and political to be anything but a recent reorganization'.[271] Mention of a treasurer shows that money changed hands on admission and that members had a certain level of wealth. The resulting fund presumably underwrote the costs of the clan priesthood. We seem to have a relatively clear case of a moribund *genos* renewed under Augustus by the wholesale admission of sub-elite Athenians with money to spare and social aspirations. The aim was to fund the revival of an ancient cult.[272]

[269] Plotius: Byrne 2003a: 399.
[270] Byrne 2003b is now the authoritative study of this process.
[271] Oliver 1980: 45.
[272] See Kearns 1985: esp. 193–4 (arguing from *Agora* 15, no. 132 for an Amynandrid priest of Cecrops in the third century BC); Parker 1996: 285–6. The fragmentary text *SEG* 30.99, a decree of the

What was it about the character of the legendary Cecrops which compelled 'ritual work' to promote his cult, *at this date*? Cecrops was a primitive hero of uncanny form, the first Athenian king, part man and part snake, and he witnessed the contest for possession of the city between Poseidon and Athena.[273] Aside from this association with the dawn of Athenian history, he interested the Romans as a universal culture-bringer. According to Cicero, at Athens, so it was said, 'the present law providing for burial in the earth (*ius terra humandi*) comes down from their first king Cecrops'.[274] In a digression on the invention of writing, Tacitus credits Cecrops with a place in the various legends about the creation of the Greek alphabet. These included the claims that 'Cecrops the Athenian or Linus the Theban and, in the Trojan era, Palamedes the Argive, invented sixteen letters, the rest being added later by different authors . . . '.[275] The elder Pliny, as we saw earlier, in his list of people who invented the arts of civilisation, includes Cecrops, who 'named after himself the first town, Cecropia, which is now the Acropolis at Athens'.[276] These traditions known to the educated Roman elite are echoed in the ancient scholia to the Athenian playwright Aristophanes. Cecrops 'instituted the two dialects', presumably Attic and Ionic. He 'invented wise laws and supplied a thousand useful things for the Athenians'. He 'invented many laws for humankind (*anthrōpoi*) and led it from savageness to civilisation', including laws instituting monogamy and parenthood, where previously promiscuity reigned and children went unrecognised by their natural fathers.[277] Cecrops thus was, like the hero Buzyges, an important figure in the perception of Athens in later antiquity as the cradle of a *humanitas* now thought of as universal, not just Athenian or Greek. This new universality of Cecrops may help to explain the involvement of the Roman diaspora in the revival of his Athenian cult. Here too we have a clear example of a cult, perhaps focused on the (?restored) 'shrine (*hieron*) of Cecrops' mentioned in an Athenian inscription of 334/3 BC and no doubt with its annual festival, serving as a mnemonic device for recalling a distant past.[278]

The second case study has an even more pronounced Romanity, since it links a *genos*-based Athenian cult with the Trojan origins of Rome. Here we return to the second priesthood held by the Buzyges, that of priest of 'Zeus in the Palladium'. Apart from the reserved seat for its incumbent, this priesthood of Zeus in the Palladium is met with in one other Athenian

Amynandridae featuring the same archon and so close in date to the membership list, reflects the flurry of epigraphic activity surrounding the recreation of the *genos*.

[273] Apollod. 3.14.1. [274] Cic. *Leg.* 2.63. [275] Tac. *Ann.* 11.14.2. [276] Plin. *HN* 7.56.194.
[277] Σ Aristoph. *Plut.* 773 (Koster and others); 773b (Chantry). [278] *IG* ii², 1156.35 (shrine).

inscription, *IG* ii², 3177. The stone is lost, its findspot is unknown, and the text as it stands is a collation by Boeckh from three old transcriptions by Spon, Fourmont and Pococke:[279]

[. . . so-and-so] priest of Zeus at the Palladium and Buzyges [*Pol[. . .]nou Marathōniou*], after Pythian Apollo gave the oracle stating that another (*heteron*) image (*hedos*) of Pallas should be furnished, had one made at his own expense and dedicated it to the gods and to the city.

Graindor saw that a grammatically nonsensical proper name in the genitive case, *Pol[. . .]nou Marathōniou*, should probably be read as an archon date, to be preceded by the preposition <*epi*>. There is the now-familiar question mark over the dating of a text known only from old copies. Graindor and Kirchner suggested the Augustan period, although more recently Michael Maass has opted for the third century AD.[280] The likely context should also be placed in the balance. As we have seen from another Athenian inscription, the Gephyraei consulted the Delphic oracle on behalf of a Buzyges and priest of Zeus in the Palladium in 36/5 BC. It has already been suggested elsewhere that the two texts may be related.[281] One might conjecture either that the matter of the statue in fact formed the subject of the consultation in 36/5 BC, or that the late first century BC, a period of renewal for the the cults of the hero Buzyges and of Zeus in the Palladium, generated more than one consultation of Delphi. A tentative date in the early-Augustan period would suit these considerations.

A thick strand of ancient legend brought together the hero Buzyges, the Athenian locale called Palladium, site of an ancient law court and sanctuary of Athena, and the Trojan Palladium, the talismanic statuette of the goddess Athena rescued from the sack of Troy. This strand can be traced back at least as far as the fourth-century BC Atthidographer Cleidemus:[282]

. . . when Agamemnon with the Palladium put in at Athens, Demophon [*sc.* the son of Theseus] stole the Palladium and killed many of those pursuing him. Because Agamemnon was angry, Demophon submitted to judgment with fifty Athenians and fifty Argives [as judges] whom they called Ephetai because of the fact that the trial was referred to them from both sides.

[279] *CIG* I, 491 = *IG* ii², 3177.
[280] Kirchner to *IG* ii², 3177; Graindor 1927: 146. Maass 1972: 125, following an earlier suggestion of Judeich.
[281] Parker 1996: 287.
[282] Harpocr. s.v. 'at the Palladion'; cp. *Lexicon Patmense* s.v. *ephetai*. Texts and translations: *Agora* 28, 143 no. 48 and 144 no. 50.

A tradition going back to another Atthidographer, Phanodemus (late fourth century BC), specifically gives this trial as the origin of the Athenian law court called Palladium, which was also where the Palladium (statue) was set up.[283] In the fifth century BC Palladium (the place) was also a sanctuary of Athena, attested in an Athenian inscription; another text, for the year 429/8 BC, attests treasure belonging to a cult of Demophon, perhaps also located in the Palladium.[284] Despite the original location in Phalerum according to the myth, this shrine-cum-law court known as the Palladium was probably to be found near the Olympieum in south-east Athens. The Palladium still served as a law court in Classical times. In the mid second century BC it was home to a school of philosophers.[285]

The many late sources which mention the Palladium do so mainly from interest in the famous Athenian court where cases of involuntary homicide used to be tried and in the legend about the very first trial, of Demophon. Pausanias typifies this interest, describing the court and its foundation myth as part of a larger digression on Athenian law courts.[286] In the second century AD the Greek writer Polyaenus records a variant of this foundation myth which introduces the hero Buzyges into the events at Phalerum. According to this version, when Agamemnon demanded the Palladium back from Demophon, Demophon entrusted the real image to Buzyges, who brought it back to Athens. This variant has rightly been suspected as a late addition.[287] Its transparent purpose was to create a link between Buzyges the hero and the Trojan Palladium for the benefit of the *genos* of the Buzygae in charge of the two priesthoods of 'the Buzyges and the priest of Zeus in Palladium': an association of posts first found, as we saw, in 36/5 BC.

The '*hedos* of Pallas' of the oracle implies a sacred image of the primitive or primitive-looking kind, wooden and portable. Aside from this inscription, evidence for the existence of an Athenian Palladium (statue) in the historical period is non-existent if we disregard, as we probably should, a modern attempt to identify this mythical figure with the statue of 'Pallas'

[283] Pollux 8.118; Suda s.v. 'at the Palladion'; Σ Aeschin. 2.87. Texts and translations: *Agora* 28, 146 nos. 52(2) and 53; 140–1 no. 41.

[284] *IG* i^3, 369.73.90 (423/2 BC); 383.159 (429/8 BC).

[285] See the excellent discussion of A. Boegehold, *Agora* 28, 139–40 with (140–6) testimonia. School: *FGrH* 244 Apollodorus of Athens F 55–6.

[286] Paus. 1.28.8–9.

[287] 'Demophon guarded the Palladium, which he received on deposit from Diomedes. When Agamemnon demanded it, Demophon gave the real one to an Athenian named Buzyges to take to Athens': Polyaen. *Strat.* 1.5 transl. P. Krenz and E. L. Wheeler. Parker 1996: 287 n. 8 noted 'doubts about the antiquity of this tradition on the part of S. Humphreys'. Athenian Palladium: *RE* 17.3 (1949) cols. 176–9 (L. Ziehen).

bathed at Phalerum in a long-lived rite attested in literary sources and inscriptions from the fourth century BC to the third century AD. This rite is traditionally, and best, seen as the annual washing of the *hedos* of Athena Polias in the Erechtheum.[288] We are then left with the oracle sought by the Gephyraei in 36/5 BC and the oracle, the same or a somewhat later one, which sanctioned the establishment of 'another' (*heteron*) image. Here the earlier image implied must have been the legendary Palladium seized from Agamemnon by Demophon. There is no indication, here or anywhere else, as to whether this fabulous statue (or something claimed as it) still existed at the time of the oracle. I suggest that Delphi was consulted because, at the time, there *was* no Palladium in Athens. Divine sanction, that is, was sought for the solemn matter of recreating a lost cult statue, not merely of making an offering, an *anathēma*, of a supplementary image, a routine matter which would not require recourse to an oracle.[289] If so, an explanation is needed for why, at this time, Athens needed to display 'its' Palladium.

There were rival cities claiming to possess the Palladium, including Argos, the home of Diomedes, the hero who, with Odysseus, removed the object from Troy in the first place. The greatest rival of all, however, was Rome. The Romans believed that the Trojan Palladium had been rescued, not by Greeks, but by Aeneas, who brought it to Italy. This version, probably established by the mid republic, was an integral part of Roman identity, since it provided visual proof of the foundation of Rome from Troy. It was duly canonised in the *Aeneid*, which Vergil was composing in the late twenties BC. Already by the late republic, the Palladium, housed in the temple of Vesta and guarded by the Vestal Virgins, was regarded, in Cicero's words, as a 'guarantee of our safety and empire' (*quasi pignus nostrae salutis atque imperii*).[290] Under Augustus this symbolism of the Palladium was harnessed to the ideology of imperial monarchy, especially after Augustus became *pontifex maximus* in 12 BC, when his new duties provided the pretext for the incorporation inside his residence on the Palatine of a *signum Vestae*, a kind of sacrarium, in which Augustus seems to have placed, not the Palladium itself, but perhaps a copy.[291] The ideological import of all this is conveyed in a passage in Ovid's *Fasti*:

> To Augustus' countless honours (which did he prefer to earn?) has been added the office of pontifex maximus. Over the flames eternal the eternal divinity of Augustus

[288] Burkert 1970 for the revisionist view, rejected by Parker 1996: 307–8 with n. 63; accepted by Humphreys 2004: 91–2 with n. 36 (without reference to Parker).
[289] For multiple images of the same deity in a single shrine see e.g. Paus. 2.17.4–5.
[290] Cic. *Scaur*. 48. [291] *LTUR* 5 (1999) s.v. Vesta, ara, signum, aedes (in Palatio) (R. Cappelli).

has charge. You see the two guarantees of empire (*imperii pignora*) combined. Gods of ancient Troy, booty most fitting for the one who carried you, by whose weight Aeneas was kept safe from the foe, a priest from the line of Aeneas handles a kindred divinity. Vesta, safeguard your kinsman's life. (Ovid *Fasti* 419–425 transl. B. R. Nagle)

As Mika Kajava puts it, the fire of Vesta, the Pontifex Maximus and the Palladium have been united here into a trinity.[292] Augustan Athens registered the new importance of Vesta in the self-representation of the imperial regime. Kajava has rightly pointed to the oddity of three honorific statues set up by the Athenians for Vestal Virgins. These Roman priestesses were never honoured otherwise in the provinces, for the simple reason that they were not allowed to travel abroad. Athenian honours for them are best explained if Athens itself had instituted a cult of the Roman Vesta, and this is precisely what can be recognised in the Athenian cult of the 'Hearth (*Hestia*) of the Romans', tended by priestesses, which makes its appearance at about this time. The same influence of Roman Vesta can be seen in the Athenian creation of a joint cult of 'Hestia on the Acropolis and Livia and Julia', which seems to have promptly lapsed after the disgrace of Julia in 2 BC.[293]

In these circumstances, it can scarcely be doubted that the Trojan Palladium was topical in Augustan Athens. Precisely under Augustus Dionysius of Halicarnassus added his voice to the debate about the 'real' Palladium, recording the tradition that the image which the Greeks plundered from Troy was only a copy (*mimēma*).[294] When the hero Buzyges makes his (probably late) appearance in the legend, it is to retrieve the real (*alēthinon*) Palladium, Demophon fabricating a 'similar one of equal size' which was eventually yielded to Agamemnon.[295] It sounds as if the insertion of Buzyges into the tradition coincided with a time of contestation between the

[292] Kajava 2001: 84.

[293] *IG* ii^2, 5096; 5102; 5145 (priesthoods of the two cults). Kajava 2001, with the modification of Kantiréa 2007: 127–9, accepted here. The former, followed by the latter, sees the *monopteros* for Roma and Augustus as the home for the Acropolis cult of Hestia, and its design as an Athenian evocation of the circular temple of Vesta in Rome. In my view this theory founders on the absence of any reference to the cult of Hestia in the dedication of the *monopteros*, as surely there would have been if the structure was meant to mimic the Roman temple. As a *tempietto*, open to the elements, the *monopteros* was not an obvious place to put the permanent flame required by a cult of Hestia.

[294] Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom*. 2.66.5. 'But others declare that it is the Palladium that fell from Heaven [that is kept in the temple of Vesta], the same that was in the possession of the people of Ilium; for they hold that Aeneas, being well acquainted with it, brought it to Italy, whereas the Achaeans stole away the copy – an incident about which many stories have been related both by poets and by historians. For my part, I find from very many evidences that there indeed some holy things, unknown to the public, kept by the virgins, and not the fire alone . . . '

[295] Polyaen. *Strat*. 1.3.5.

Athenian and a rival claim: not Rome in this instance, I suggest, but Argos, the home city of Agamemnon, where, as we have seen, an Augustan renewal of ritual may also have been under way. The *genos* of the Buzygae, headed by its priest, Diotimus or an equally prominent and well-connected successor drawn from the Athenian elite, saw an opportunity to promote its own prestige and that of the city by paying for the creation of a new Palladium, following the proper consultation of Delphi. The *genos* did so in response to a general interest in the myth fuelled by the Palladium which stood symbolically and physically at the heart of the Roman, and especially the Augustan, empire.

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As with all these individuals engaged in ritual work, the Messenian Mnasistratus, the Athenians Themistocles, Diotimus and his cousin Pammenes (II),[296] Lysinicus the Spartan priest of the Dioscuri and numerous others, we are looking at prominent people from the civic elites behaving in a particular way. This has been characterised by Simon Goldhill as 'the construction of a new civic tradition, the invention of a (ritual) past to come. Within the Roman Empire, the local politics of status and intensification of cult engagement frame new constructions of achievement and memorialization.'[297] This is exactly right, with the proviso that, at the dawn of the imperial state at any rate, driving this 'intensification of cult engagement' was an unprecedentedly close dialogue between Greek notables and the religious currents at Rome. This dialogue was marked by a blending of religion and politics (in the modern sense of these categories)

[296] Pammenes (II) was probably key to changes in the priesthood of Apollo on Delos under Augustus. Uniquely under Augustus Delian inscriptions describe this priest as holding office 'from the *genos* of the Erysichthonidae'. The successive priests so described were Pammenes (II) and his elder son Zeno (V) (*ID* 1624), who both held the office for life, whereas in earlier times this priesthood was annual. Parker 1996: 289 rightly notes this change and suggests that the priesthood had been formally assigned to the Erysichthonidae. Mavrojannis 1995 has shown that as priest on Delos Pammenes, also an imperial priest in Athens, is linked with the cultic identification of Augustus with Delian Apollo, whose temple on Delos was transformed into a space for honouring the imperial family, the evidence being a series of statue bases for the imperial family, several of them associated with Pammenes (*ID* 1592–4; 1605; 1587–8; 2517). The identification was ideologically driven and can be referred both to the legendary visit of Aeneas to Delos and to the traditional role of Delos for the celebration of sea victories. These honours focus so intently on the family of Agrippa that Pammenes may have been Agrippa's client, as suggested by Oliver 1950: 92, who argued that the family received citizenship from Agrippa on the basis of a much later M. Iulius Zeno of Marathon, an ephebic cosmete in AD 185/6: *IG* ii^2, 2111/12.1. In fact, as J.-S. Balzat has pointed out (pers. comm.), this Zeno's citizenship surely had something to do with his fellow demesman, the Carian magnate M. Iulius Apellas of Mylasa: Byrne 2003a: 303 nos. 2 and 5.

[297] Goldhill 2001b: 10.

once Augustus came to power and incorporated a return to the religion of archaic Rome into his governing programme.

This chapter has tried to bring together some of the evidence for a movement in Greece, widespread but selective, to reconstruct old cults, generally in the late first century BC and above all under Augustus. This evidence is certainly not exhausted. At Athens, where the Romans were interested in vestiges of antiquity illuminating the role of the city as the giver of laws, agriculture and civilisation generally, one would do well to look more closely at rituals of imperial times which performed primitive forms of Athenian justice, notably the sacrificial rite of the Ox-slayer (Buphones), culminating in the annual trial of the sacrificial axe in the Prytaneum,[298] or at the flourishing mystery-cult at Phlya, with its tell-tale traditions about Themistocles and the Persian Wars.[299] The ritual construction of Athens as the root of *humanitas* by means of a set of 'renewed' cults and festivals, of which we probably know only a part, consolidated the role of the Roman city as a culture-bringer in the face of alternative candidates such as the Argives, Arcadians or Egyptians.[300] In imperial times these polytheistic rites would perform annually a loose 'theology' of the god-given, as well as Greek, origins of civilisation. This would only be definitively displaced when an officially Christian empire adopted the biblical story of the Creation. After endowing the earth with flora and fauna, the God of the Christians created Adam, 'a man to till the ground'.[301]

The travel-writer Pausanias perfectly articulates the contemporary appeal of this combination of religious ritual and hoary antiquity in his *Description of Greece*. This presents the province of Greece as a museum not only of art and architecture but also of rites which were both ancient yet still vividly alive, performed by the priests and priestesses, the men, women and children of the Greece of his own day. To expand a point made in the last chapter, many of these rites in the form in which Pausanias describes them are likely to have been the object of 'cultural work' in Greece around the time of Augustus. This effort revitalised civic religion in 'old' Greece

[298] Paus. 1.24.4; 28.8.11.

[299] Esp. Plut. *Them*. 1.1.4. Parker 1996: 305. Luraghi 2008b: 296–7 on the ritual links between these mysteries and those of the Carneasium in the time of Pausanias.

[300] For Arcadia note Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom*. 1.33.3, a strikingly similar claim to that of Athens. Argos also had culture-bringing traditions, e.g. Varro *Rust*. 2.5.4 ('. . . .it is to the ox that Buzuges at Athens and Homogyros at Argos owe their fame'). Diod. Sic. 5.69.1 notes 'the dispute about the discovery of the fruit of the corn on the part of many peoples'. The Eleusinian initiations of Roman emperors starting from Augustus helped to cement the Athenian claim in this regard.

[301] Gen. 2.5.

for another three centuries, just as the 'mother' impulse in Rome did for Roman rites.[302]

We have seen in this chapter, as in earlier ones, that cultural change in Augustan Greece often turns out to be linked to building activity. It is time now to look in more depth at the outburst of public works in the province in the late first century BC, much but by no means all of it relating to cult. Overall it bears the impress, as I shall argue, of the peculiar value which the Romans placed on architecture and urbanism.

[302] Scheid 2005: 176 (success of Augustus' religious reforms).

CHAPTER 5

'Constructed beauty'

Under Augustus parts of Greece experienced what can best be described as a building boom.[1] In broadest terms the trigger for this wave of investment in public works was Octavian's victory at Actium: 'a turning point in the history of the Greek world and of the Greek city which was at least as significant as the reign of Alexander'.[2] What follows is not a general survey but an attempt to capture something of the ideological impulse behind this activity. Despite its image of poverty among ancients and moderns alike (see the end of this chapter), Augustan Greece experienced its own version of the transformations in the built environment marking the advent of the principate elsewhere in the empire. In the case of Greece a striking component of this activity was architectural restoration, so important in Roman times that 'archaeology scarcely reveals anything but rebuilt cities'.[3]

To put Greek developments in an ideological context, urbanism constituted a keynote of Augustan culture. In the *Res gestae*, in effect his political testament, Augustus goes out of his way to stress his role as a patron of public works in Rome and Italy. As an aspect of his *pietas*, he restores eighty-two *templa deorum* in 28 BC alone, along with the Capitol, and builds from scratch a further thirteen. His other restorations and new builds embrace a range of public buildings and amenities, among them bridges, aqueducts, a trunk road, theatres, administrative buildings and a forum.[4] This huge programme – to which must be added the works of his son-in-law Agrippa and other members of the imperial family – was ideological as well as utilitarian in its motivation. As Vitruvius says, through the 'eminent dignity' of the new buildings was displayed 'the majesty of the empire'. His

[1] Marc and Moretti 2001 provides an excellent assemblage of much of the current thinking on urbanism in Greece between the second century BC and the first century AD, with stimulating syntheses by P. Gros and P. Marchetti (Marchetti 2001a: esp. 148–53).
[2] Millar 2001: 2. [3] Rightly Marchetti 2001b: 455.
[4] Brunt and Moore 1967: 19; 20; 21.1–2, App. 1.

own authorial project has been characterised as 'the rebuilding of Roman identity through architecture'.[5]

The refurbished fabric of Augustan Rome was an expression, and in its day the ultimate symbol, of the value which the ruling power placed on the 'large-scale buildings, which speak of prosperity and a certain way of life', as 'hallmarks of the Roman Imperial City'.[6] A hard-nosed politics underlay this urbanistic ideal. 'The Romans knew the seductive power exercised by material prosperity . . . The immediately intelligible attractions of Roman urbanism . . . found receptive audiences throughout the Roman world.'[7] As is manifest from the spectacular ruins still visible in what was once the Roman east, insofar as the local economy could support it the Greek-speaking provinces embraced this Roman-style urbanism with enthusiasm. '"Greek" cities tended to exhibit a range of "Graeco-Roman" features: theatres, usually of the "Roman" type with a raised stage; temples on a raised podium, with a frontal axis; occasional amphitheatres; and more often perhaps theatres adapted to accommodate gladiatorial shows or wild-beast hunts; baths and colonnaded streets – all these represented a language of urbanism and public architecture which was shared with the generally less developed cities of the Latin-speaking West.'[8]

Well known too is the conspicuous part played by the eastern elites in funding these civic amenities. It is obviously significant for the outlook and motives of the donors that many, if not most, of these amenities in some way managed to reference the Roman emperor, whether by a dedicatory inscription, statuary or some other means. Members of this army of local benefactors may not have been conceptually equipped to see the provincial city as 'both the major cultural construct and conveyancer of Roman imperialism abroad'.[9] But imperial example, the leadership of provincial governors,[10] and other factors such as travel to Rome and Italy, no doubt made clear enough to local elites that public works were integral to the Roman civic ideal. The internalisation of the ideology of Roman urbanism by educated easterners is signalled by the famous list of what a Greek provincial city was not by Pausanias (second century AD): 'if you can call [Panopeus in Phocis] a city which has no civic offices (*archeia*), no gymnasium, no theatre, no agora, no running water brought to a fountain house'.[11]

[5] Vitr. praef. Quotation: Wallace-Hadrill 2008: 149. [6] Zanker 2000: 41.
[7] Ando 2000: 66–7. [8] Millar 1993: 240–1.
[9] Whittaker 1997: 145. [10] E.g. Kokkinia 2004.
[11] Paus. 10.4.1. For the essentially Roman context of this passage: Cortés Copete 2005: 429.

It was not new for Greek writers to admire public buildings: Aristotle writes approvingly of the *kosmos*, the architectural adornment, of a Greek city. But a more comprehensive raising of Greek consciousness in this regard is indicated by the many texts, to which Isabelle Maupai has now drawn timely attention, which praise the 'constructed beauty' ('konstruierte Schönheit') of eastern cities in imperial times. Many amenities which we tend to think of as more 'Roman' than 'Greek' are singled out for praise in this discourse around *to kallos*: colonnaded streets, aqueducts, engineered harbours, tetrapylons and other kinds of ornamental gates, squares or *plataiai*, libraries and therms.[12] In a provincial context, to fund such amenities was a conspicuous way of advertising allegiance to Roman-imperial values. The euergetism which did so much to pay for the building boom in the eastern provinces during the first and second centuries AD was as competitive as it was because eastern notables came to understand that those who played this costly game were more likely to attract the higher patronage indispensable for promotion to the highest Roman orders.[13] The imperial attitude is nicely caught in a letter of Antoninus Pius to the Ephesians strongly supporting the 'noble ambition' (*philotimia*) of a local magnate who sought to make his city 'more impressive' (*semnotera*) by means of 'architectural adornment' (*kosmos*).[14]

The full grandeur of the Roman imperial city belongs more to the epoch of Antoninus Pius than of Augustus. It is widely recognised, however, that a process of urban transformation marked the advent of the principate. That this process was at work in Augustan Greece is nowadays also beginning to be accepted, as are some of the characteristics which marked it as peculiarly Augustan. These include the trend to restore old buildings, especially religious monuments, as we have seen, and the appearance of monumental porticoed enclosures entered by impressive gates and sometimes demonstrably involving outside funding or planning (or both), as with the so-called Roman Agora at Athens.[15] This complex was paid for by Caesar and then Augustus, and is a conspicuous example of the role of direct patronage by the imperial house in promoting architectural dignity in Greece, as is Agrippa's building activity in Athens and Olympia. Above all, there was Nicopolis, founded by the princeps and involving not only the erection of large-scale buildings but also the use of the latest Roman building techniques, such as opus reticulatum in the campsite memorial

[12] Maupai 2003: 73–202.
[13] Patterson 1991 argues for this same connection between increased public building and elite mobility in his case studies of Samnium and Lycia.
[14] Oliver 1989: no. 138 (AD 145). [15] Walker 1997.

and rubble construction faced with fired brick in the fabric of the stadium and the theatre.[16] This technique aped the concrete faced with fired brick which was just starting to come into fashion in Augustan Rome. It is likely enough too that one of the semicircular ends of the 'amphitheatral' stadium was adapted from the start for Roman-style spectacles in what is now recognised to have been the way of newly built stadia in the Roman east.[17] The Romanity of the new theatre at Augustan Sparta is revealed in the use of baked brick (see Chapter 3). This material makes its precocious appearance elsewhere in Augustan Greece, as we shall see below, long before its use spread to Asia Minor.[18]

A continuous theme of this book has been the participation at local level of resident Romans, or of their Greek associates such as the Athenian Novius of Oeum, in the promotion of Augustan values in Greece. Peter Scherrer has recently documented the involvement of this stratum in building activity at Augustan Ephesus, notably in connection with the porticoed enclosure known as the Tetragonos Agora, a harbour-side commercial market, endowed with an impressive gateway built by two freedmen of, respectively, Augustus and Agrippa.[19] This same type of the diaspora Roman was also active across Augustan Greece as a patron of building, as these two examples illustrate, the first from Opous in central Greece, the second from Megalopolis:

> Gnaeus Calpurnius Helix, the priest of the god Augustus Caesar and archon, who previously served in the same year as *agoranomos* and at his own expense as agonothete of the third-yearly Dionysia, erected the fountain and the sacred statues (*agalmata*) and the trough for the water (*lēnos*), for the Roman People, the god Augustus Caesar and the Opuntian People. (Greek inscription, *IG* ix, 1, 282)

> T. Arminius Tauriscus erected the bridge to Imperator Caesar Augustus and to the city, just as he promised and with the consent of the council. (Latin text of a bilingual inscription, *CIL* iii.1.496 and suppl. 7250; *IG*, v, 2, 456)

Helix, to judge from his names, was a member of the community of Roman residents at Opous.[20] Kantiréa has rightly stressed the social significance of the utilitarian provision of a water supply, here as in any ancient community where there was no domestic supply of fresh water. Tauriscus, otherwise unknown, was a Roman landowner, since the Greek version of

[16] Opus reticulatum: Medri 2001: 32 with n. 54 (unpublished). [17] Welch 1998: esp. 555.
[18] Hueber 2007: 51 with n. 13 (Ephesus, Library of Celsus, Trajanic).
[19] Scherrer 2007: 63–5 citing IK 17.1.3006 (building inscription from the South Gate).
[20] So Kantiréa 2007: 136. See *IG* ix, 1, 283; also 285 (L. Allius Taurus the gymnasiarch, probably one of their number).

his inscription records that in return for his bridge he received from Megalopolis pasture rights for all his flocks, as well as the right of pannage, or collecting the acorn crop.[21] As with Helix the gift of Tauriscus, a bridge spanning the River Helisson, must have constituted a significant practical amenity for local inhabitants. What is striking about both inscriptions is the explicit association of these local improvements with the Roman emperor – commonplace in Greek building inscriptions in the generations to come but a novelty at this date – and, in Helix's case, with the Roman people too. This same association between public works, local Romans and the imperial state is made in even more striking terms at Augustan Messene.

MESSENE

Messene arguably illustrates best of all the ideological impulse behind the restoring of civic buildings in Augustan Greece. In imperial times Sparta's neighbour and old enemy was the chief centre of the south-western quarter of the Peloponnese.[22] According to Pausanias, the Messenians collectively had sided with Antony, in part because Sparta had supported Octavian. Augustus then 'punished' (*epexēlthe*) them by re-attributing the small Messenian city of Thuria to the Spartans. The effects of this 'punishment' should not be exaggerated: the citizens of Thuria later celebrated their claim to be Spartan colonists and not Messenians at all.[23] There is no evidence to suggest that Augustus singled out the city of Messene, as opposed to the Messenians generally.[24] It is true that the city entered Octavian's empire on the wrong side. Greek cities caught up in the Roman civil wars by and large had little choice except to obey the Roman dynast in whose territorial sphere they happened to belong: Sparta and Mantinea in 31 BC were the exceptions, not the rule. It seems unlikely that Octavian would have wished to do permanent harm to this rich enclave with its important presence of Roman residents.

[21] Baladié 1980: 327–8.

[22] Habicht 1998: 36–63 for an introduction to Roman Messene. Greek excavations at Messene are producing a flood of new archaeological finds and inscriptions. A work of synthesis is lacking, although note now Themelis 2000, with the comments of the editors of *SEG* 50.420 (on the publication of the new epigraphic texts).

[23] Cartledge and Spawforth 2002: 241 citing *IG* v, 1, 1381 and *British Museum Catalogue of Coins* 10, 1887, 119–20.

[24] Paus. 4.31.1–2, where the ambiguity of '*Messēnioi*', which can mean either the inhabitants of Messenia collectively or the citizens of the chief city of Messenia, Messene, has caused confusion: e.g. Migeotte 1992: 57.

These last help to explain the increasing Romanity of Messene over the course of the first century AD. Inscriptions show the liveliness of celebrations of the imperial cult.[25] Leading families who first appear in civic life under Augustus went on to gain Roman citizenship. By the turn of the first century AD, one family of Ti. Claudii had produced an equestrian army officer. The most prominent of all, the Saethidae, generated three Roman senators, including a suffect consul, Ti. Claudius Frontinus.[26] Political conditions in Augustan Messene can be explored further thanks to two inscriptions. The first, a Messenian decree dating between AD 2 and 3, honours a Roman magistrate, P. Cornelius Scipio.[27] Scipio visited Messene in person at least twice, on each occasion leading the celebration of imperial festivals. On an earlier visit he personally 'conducted' (*etelese*) the Messenian festival of the Caesarea. It needs emphasis that this verb does not indicate that Scipio founded the festival: *telein* in this sense means to preside over, conduct, celebrate.[28] On a later visit he initiated a special festival for Gaius Caesar to mark the heralding of good news about the prince's campaigns in the east. The apparent rarity of this type of local intervention by a provincial magistrate prompted James Zetzel to speculate that provincial Achaia at the time was 'so disorganized' that celebrations of the imperial cult needed 'official guidance'.[29] More correctly, Peter Herz has argued that the exceptional zeal of this Scipio on behalf of the imperial family reflected his personal ties with Augustus and C. Caesar: he was probably Augustus's stepson by Scribonia, and C. Caesar his first cousin once removed. This zeal led him to visit Messene more than once for the good reason that the city was close to the shipping lanes on which the latest news would have travelled between the eastern front and Rome.[30] Shorn of Zetzel's reading into this text of local reluctance to honour Augustus, it can be taken for what it is: a prime document for the richness of Augustan Messene's imperial cult. By AD 2/3 this cult was clearly well entrenched. The Caesarean festival, already founded when Scipio presided over a celebration, possibly marked

[25] Kantiréa 2001: 54 n. 25.

[26] *RP* II MES 131; 136; 142; 150; 157; 161. For these families see also Baldassara 2007; Luraghi 2008b: 300–23.

[27] *SEG* 23.1968, no. 206; *AÉ* 1967: no. 458.

[28] For an exact parallel close in time and place see the sacred law of Gytheum of AD 15 (Oliver 1985: no. 15), requiring the agoranomos after celebrating (*telein*) the days of festival for 'the *theoi* and the generals' to hold another two days of thymelic games, and setting penalties for the ephors if they fail to conduct (*telein*) the procession etc.: lines 18–19 and 30–31 of the inscription, which is reprinted in Kantiréa 2007: 204–5.

[29] Zetzel 1970: 263.

[30] Herz 1993: esp. 284–6. It is more than possible too, given its important community of Roman residents, that Messene was the seat of a governor's assize in the reorganised province of Achaia.

the birthday of Augustus, an important date in the festival programme of the Greek-speaking east, one which the Athenians took to celebrating in the years after 27 BC.[31] In AD 2/3 the Messenians also celebrated an annual 'day of Caesar', probably marking the date on which Octavian was honoured with the title 'Augustus' (16 January 27 BC).[32]

A second Messenian inscription can now be considered which is important for the themes of this book, since it shows, as Glen Bowersock has put it, 'some kind of self-conscious, deliberate association of the monuments of the classical Greek past with the new dynasty in Rome'.[33] The text is another decree of the city council (*sunedrion*), this time for a secretary who was deeply involved in a programme of repairs to public buildings. His particular achievement was to have personally appealed to a number of individuals, Messenians and Roman residents, who then subscribed to the costs. Their names – twenty-nine of them – and their donations are emphatically listed in a highly unusual parenthesis in mid-decree. The letter-cutter achieved this by introducing a line break at the head of the list and by moving the left-hand margin of the twenty-two lines which follow one letter to the left. The decree alleges 'public weakness' (lines 7–8) as the reason for this appeal to the generosity of private individuals. But this may have been a rhetorical device to highlight the significance of the donations. Even if there were financial difficulties, a 'momentary embarrassment' on the city's part does not need to signify real economic or social difficulties behind this programme.[34] The inscription was carefully carved on a substantial stele well over a metre high, which was to be set up 'alongside the Sebasteum' or shrine of Augustus, where indeed it was found in situ, at the foot of the processional staircase linking the shrine to the porticoes of the Asclepieum complex in the centre of the city. The creation of this Sebasteum – its exact date is unclear – itself forms additional evidence for the liveliness of Messenian emperor-worship under Augustus.[35]

Dating of the decree is a problem. Reference to the living Augustus puts it between 27 BC and AD 15. Léopold Migeotte speculated that the punishment of the 'Messenians' by Augustus dampened enthusiasm for the new regime at Messene and retarded the introduction of the imperial cult.[36] Because Cassius Dio hesitantly claims (*hōs tines phasin*, 'as some say')

[31] Herz 1993; *Agora* 16, no. 336, dated '*a. 22/1 a., vel paullo ante*'. Byrne 2003a: 488 (?22 BC).
[32] Herz 1993: 279. [33] Bowersock 1984: 174. [34] Migeotte 1985: 607; 1992: 58.
[35] *SEG* 23.205 and 207 + *SEG* 35.343, printing in part the reedited text of Migeotte 1985; more recently, Migeotte 1992: 55–9 no. 22. For the archaeology of the Sebasteion, with its interesting evidence for sacrificial feasting, see Kantiréa 2007: 132–3.
[36] Migeotte 1985: 603–4; 1992: 57.

that Augustus punished the Athenians for supporting Antony on his visit to Greece in 22/1 BC, Migeotte went on to date his hypothetical punishment of the Messenians to the same visit.[37] By this speculative reasoning he placed the decree no earlier than 15–10 BC. It could just as well be argued that collective Messenian support for Antony prompted the city of Messene to make urgent amends by introducing the cult of Augustus sooner rather than later. As it is, the Messenian 'day of Caesar' probably dates back to 27 BC.

More recently, a late date has been proposed on prosopographical grounds. The Dionysius son of Aristomenes who contributed 500 denarii 'on behalf of his mother Pleistarchia' (lines 27–28) has been identified with a Dionysius son of Aristomenes in an unpublished catalogue of Messenian ephebes precisely dated to AD 3.[38] This identification, if correct, would push the date of the decree into the last years of the reign of Augustus, when the ex-ephebe was in his twenties. The obvious alternative is that we are dealing with a grandfather and grandson named according to the usual 'rules' of Greek onomastics – as demonstrated, indeed, by later generations of this same family.[39] If the ephebe Dionysius (II) were, say, seventeen in AD 3, he would have been born *c.* 14 BC, his father *c.* 44 BC, and his grandfather *c.* 74 BC. On this reconstruction, the elder Dionysius (I) would have been in his mid-forties at the time of Actium. The text could then be assigned a date which fits better with the general tenor of its content: sometime between 27 and *c.* 17 BC – after Octavian became Augustus/*Sebastos*, after the Messenian institution of an imperial cult physically centred on a Sebasteum, yet not too late for the mother of Dionysius, Pleistarchia, still to be alive as an elderly matriarch. This dating is not certain, of course, but it makes better sense of the earnest local response to Augustan culture which the decree appears to embody.

What is particularly striking about the decree is that the act of restoring the urban fabric of Messene is *itself* what the Messenians were offering Augustus. As Migeotte put it: 'one is struck not only by the insistence with which [the text] evokes the imperial cult and that of the Roman People . . . but also by the obligation laid on the secretary to erect the stele near the Sebasteion . . . and, in a general way, by the solemnity with which

[37] On the basis of Cass. Dio 54, 7; see E. Meyer in *RE* suppl. 15 (1978): col. 276.

[38] *RP* II MES 20, citing an unpublished Messenian inscription.

[39] Note the Neronian Ti. Claudius Aristomenes, son of Dionysius, presumably the son of the ephebe of AD 3, his son Ti. Claudius Dionysius Crispianus, and *his* son Ti. Claudius Aristomenes: *RP* II MES 131; 136; 130. It is worth pointing out that coincidence in father–son pairs of names does not necessarily point to membership of the same family, even within the same civic community, as now shown for Hellenistic Athens: Habicht 1994: 349–53.

the restoration is presented, modest though it was . . .' Lines 1–3 of the preserved text are particularly eloquent: they specifically link the need 'to preserve together the public buildings bequeathed to it (i.e. the city) by the ancestors (*progonoi*) and the obligations which must be observed towards the Roman People and Augustus Caesar'. As Bowersock saw, the restoration work was 'being done explicitly as a tribute to the Romans and the emperor Augustus'.[40] This interpretation is in line with the total sum expended, estimated at between 6000 and 6200 denarii: modest in relation to the number of structures involved. At best these buildings had suffered only minor wear-and-tear, not a prolonged period of neglect.[41] Public works here have an ideological purpose: the restoration of civic monuments is performative in itself, displaying Messenian commitment to the urban ideology of Augustan Rome.

The emphasis on Messenian ancestors is telling for the same reason. It explains the curious inclusion of a single donation of a non-architectural kind: Crato, son of Archedamus, gave 'seventy denarii for the sacrifice (*enagismos*) of a bull to Aristomenes' (lines 13–14). Aristomenes was a legendary hero of the Messenians – their Theseus, in effect. Thanks mainly to Pausanias we know that he played a prominent part in Messenian traditions of ancient resistance to the Spartans. Specific evidence for his place in the civic culture of Messene first occurs in this inscription. Pausanias and other inscriptions flesh out his continuing meaningfulness locally in the later principate.[42] The inclusion of this record of sacrifice to an ancestral hero served the purpose of demonstrating, from the thin material available to a city lacking an ancient past, a local enactment of the ancestral *pietas* so conspicuously upheld by Augustus in Rome. In this context of an ideologically driven programme of repairs, the record raises the suspicion that, even if the bull sacrifice was older than the reign of Augustus, the ritual now acquired a new meaning, and perhaps a new lease of life, as a channel for communicating Messenian piety and antiquity to the ruling power.[43]

As for the buildings in question (lines 12–35), they included alimentary structures (the meat market and the *stoa pantopōlis*, evidently a kind of supermarket), educational facilities (the 'old gymnasium'; also a donation of 'wood for the gymnasium'), a political meeting place (the council house or *bouleion*), a spectatory (the 'stage', *logeion*, of the *deiktērion*, which was some kind of theatral structure) and shrines: 'the temple of Heracles and

[40] Bowersock 1984: 174. [41] Migeotte 1985: 604.
[42] Ogden 2004: 33–7; 191–2. Luraghi 2008b: 88–100.
[43] Luraghi 2008b: 89 thought that the cult was older than Augustus. Ogden 2004: 35 notes parallels of Roman-imperial date for the bull sacrifice.

Hermes in the gymnasium' and a temple of Demeter. The programme itself has a decidedly Augustan look, embracing urban amenities and shrines.

As for the donors, the despairing conclusion of Migeotte, that none of them could be identified elsewhere, needs firm correction, partly in the light of more recent finds.[44] It is now clear that the Messenian donors included the cream of the local elite. The aforementioned Dionysius (I), son of Aristomenes (I), was the ancestor of Ti. Claudius Aristomenes (III), son of Dionysius (II), a Messenian priest of Nero and the father of a Messenian knight. Niceratus, son of Theon, was presumably an ancestor (great-grandfather?) of the mid-first-century AD Ti. Claudius Theon, son of Niceratus, who, as seen in Chapter 4, in turn was a likely ancestor of the Messenian senator Ti. Claudius Frontinus Niceratus.[45] Archaeological finds from the gymnasium of Messene shed more light on these two families in the Augustan era. Next to this complex, Greek excavators have found a series of monumental tombs built for leading families accorded the civic honour of intramural burial. One, a particularly splendid masonry mausoleum of Hellenistic date with an unusual conical roof (designated K3 by the excavators), was still receiving secondary burials at the beginning of the principate. These included members of both donor families under discussion, including the two donors themselves, who appear to have been brothers-in-law, a fact explaining their shared use of the same tomb.[46]

The main purpose of the building programme seems to have been to assert the commitment of the city to Augustan values. The inscription itself was laid out so as to draw the eye to the list of donors. The insistence on the displaying of the document at the foot of the steps leading up to the Sebasteum looks like another bid for attention: P. Cornelius Scipio for one, when he celebrated the Caesarea at Messene, could have passed this way. The twenty-nine donors included ten or so resident *Rhōmaioi*,

[44] Migeotte 1985: 605; 1992: 58.

[45] *RP* II MES 150 and 161.

[46] *SEG* 47.411–412; Themelis 2000: 126–35. The tomb was clearly in use over several generations. The interior has eight burial chambers, although various epitaphs cut at different times on the exterior give a total of at least twelve burials. One of the later epitaphs (ibid. 132) names on successive lines the couple 'Niceratus the elder (*presbuteros*), son of Theon' and 'Isocratia daughter of Aristomenes', probably husband and wife. Another (ibid. 134) names firstly a 'Dionysius', then a 'Pleistarchia daughter of Dionysius'. This is evidently Dionysius (I), the donor in the building inscription, buried here with a daughter named after her paternal grandmother. To judge from her patronymic, Isocratia may have been a sister of Dionysius (I). Her husband, 'Niceratus the elder', would then be the fellow-donor of Dionysius (I), Niceratus son of Theon; on this reconstruction, they turn out to have been brothers-in-law. (*Pace* Themelis (ibid. 132), the epithet *pr(esbuteros)* is unlikely to distinguish homonymous *brothers*: this Niceratus may have had a cousin with the same name combination.)

among them the Roman citizens P. Licinius Celer, M. Antonius Proclus and Ti. Claudius Buccio, as well as Domitius, a Greek bearer of a Roman *nomen*, and the brothers 'Menas and Lucius Salvius, sons of Zopyrus', whose Roman status is unclear.[47] The involvement of Roman citizens and other Messenian residents with a 'Roman' background supports the view that the whole purpose of this programme was to show the alignment of the city, its leading citizens and its Roman community, with the Augustan order. On the dating again, this project does indeed seem to make more sense in terms of Messenian politics if assigned an earlier, not a later, date under Augustus. The idea of Migeotte, that the programme was undertaken to mark a special occasion, is attractive.[48] He suggested the introduction of the imperial cult. Another possibility is the visit of Augustus to Greece in 21 BC. Even if the princeps never visited Messene, the Messenians will surely have invited him.

The protection, and projection, of ancestral tradition within this programme fits well with other Messenian behaviour at the start of the principate: the revalorisation (and renaming?) of the corps of '*gerontes* descended from Cresphontes' and, early in the next reign, the activity of Mnasistratus at the Carneasium, where 'the reinstatement of the cult [. . .] was perceived, at least in part, as a recovery of ancestral rites and traditions'.[49] The impression that a real effort was being made locally at this time to demonstrate loyalty to Rome and Roman/Augustan values is reinforced by a long, fragmentary decree of – once more – the Messenian council, marking the death of Augustus and accession of Tiberius with feasting in the Sebasteum, the creation of annual games on the birthday of Tiberius and the despatch of a congratulatory embassy to Rome.[50] The continuing rise in status of the descendants of Dionysius (I) and Niceratus (I) under the Julio-Claudian emperors suggests that the ambitions of local notables – and local Romans too – were a driving force behind this assiduous deployment of cult and culture in the pursuit of Roman favour.

[47] M. Antonius Proclus was either of freedman stock or, perhaps less likely, an enfranchised Messenian; a homonym, possibly a grandson, appears at Olympia with his (?) sister, Antonia Callo as the donor of a statue of an Elean matron, Claudia Cleodice: *RP* I EL 44 (the two Procli can hardly be the same). For the rare Celtic *cognomen* 'Buccio', referencing the goat: Forier 2001: 496. These individuals are studied in Balzat 2011.

[48] Migeotte 1992: 58. [49] Luraghi 2008b: 299.

[50] *SEG* 41.328. This important decree, reprinted by Kantiréa 2007: 206–7 no. 3, is badly in need of restudy. It closes (lines 40–41) with a mysterious reference to 'the harmful things (*atopa*) which have befallen the city', about which the embassy was to supplicate Tiberius for 'pity' (*eleos*). Conceivably the reference is to the Messenian dispute with Sparta over the Dentheliatis, which is known to have flared up again under Tiberius.

ATHENS AND SPARTA

Roman-style public baths were high on the list of the 'immediately intelligible attractions of Roman urbanism' for inhabitants of the capital and the provinces alike.[51] It is therefore of some interest that Augustan Athens has produced one of the earliest examples of such an establishment in Greece. The so-called South-West Baths, 'a prosperous public bath' just beyond the south-western corner of the Athenian Agora, enjoyed a long life with various phases from Hellenistic until Late Roman times. Following damage in the Sullan sack of 86 BC, the baths were updated in 'a decidedly Roman style [...] and fitted out with all the latest western amenities', chiefly 'the installation of central heating in the form of a hypocaust beneath the floor'. Roman building techniques accompanied this updating: notably fired brick and concrete, this last apparently used to create a domed circular chamber, one element in an 'expanded complex of buildings'. The archaeological remains suggest a date for this remodelled facility around the turn of the first century BC.[52] Since Roman-style baths were a popular form of civic benefaction in the principate, a private donor au fait with western bathing technology may well have provided the funding for this amenity.

Augustan Athens provides a striking case study in the juxtaposition of the new and up-to-date (the 'Roman Agora', the aforementioned baths) with the seemingly old and historic. In the course of looking at the evidence for the restoration and embellishment of civic space in Augustan Athens, we have seen that the city provides the best, albeit not the only, demonstration of the 'classicising impulse' in Greek architecture at this time. This impulse to recreate a Classical atmosphere in the built environment is found not only in the relocation of Classical monuments to the agora (see Chapter 2), but also in the quotation of the Erechtheum in the monopteros of Roma and Augustus and of the Propylaea of the Acropolis in the great gate into the 'Roman Agora'.[53] The classicising impulse in Athenian architecture was an enduring one. It recurs under Claudius in the decision to repair the fifth-century BC temple of Nemesis at Rhamnous and rededicate it to the deified Livia, in the continuing incorporation of Classical architectural parts into new buildings in the agora, a trend noted in Chapter 2, and, as we shall see, in Hadrianic patronage at Eleusis.[54] The broad explanation, as we have seen, is a straightforward one: the outside world, especially the ruling

[51] Quotation from Ando 2000: 66–7. [52] Shear 1969: 398–400. [53] Walker 1997: 74.
[54] Rhamnous: Kantiréa 2007: 115–16 with n. 7 discussing recent debates about the dating of this monument.

power, looked to Roman Athens above all in admiration of its Classical past, an admiration extending to the city's architectural legacy, both for aesthetic and more broadly associative reasons. The cultural atmosphere of imperial times, especially but not exclusively under Augustus, encouraged the restoration of old buildings or the creation of new ones in a classicising style.[55] This was far from being the stubborn conservatism of a provincial city cut off from the big cultural currents of its day.

One further Athenian repair, that of the Prytaneum, merits attention here, not least because it involved the family of the Buzyges Diotimus of Halae. The brother of Diotimus, Theophilus, who held the archonship in the mid twenties BC, also served as 'superintendent of the prytaneum' (*epimelētēs prutaneiou*): a kind of 'special project supervisor'.[56] It has been argued that this office, uniquely attested here, involved the overseeing of a major building programme at the Prytaneum. This 'town hall' of Athens, a venerable structure supposedly dating from the time of the legendary Theseus, was a nodal point in the life of Athenian citizens.[57] The site has been persuasively identified by Schmalz with the remains of a monumental porticoed court beneath modern Agia Aikaterini Square to the east of the Acropolis. The standing section of the west colonnade features capitals 'typically Augustan in their classicizing style and general craftsmanship', although other parts of the complex are evidently much older.[58] The ancient testimonia show that the Prytaneum was linked with Athenian traditions in which considerable interest was taken in Roman times. It was a religious building, housing the shrine of Hestia, from whose hearth the fire for all public sacrifices was taken, making it the starting point for many religious processions.[59] It also housed the remnants of the written tablets containing the laws of Solon, as well as an antiquated law court where 'judgment is given on iron and similarly on all other inanimate objects', including the annual trial and acquittal of the axe used in the ox sacrifice to Zeus Polieus. It was here, as well, that Pausanias saw statues of Miltiades and Themistocles with their names changed in favour of more recent honorands, one of whom, as we saw, was probably C. Iulius Nicanor, the 'new Themistocles'.[60] In his capacity as the Buzyges and the priest of Zeus in Palladium, Diotimus, the brother of Theophilus, performed rituals likewise evoking the primitive justice of early Athens (see Chapter 4).

[55] Obviously this impulse cannot explain all the evidence for repairs to historic buildings in ancient Athens: e.g. Lesk 2005: 198–207 argues that the so-called 'Roman repairs' of the Erechtheum are best dated in the first half of the second century BC.

[56] *IG* ii², 2877 with Schmalz 2006: 73–4. [57] Plut. *Thes*. 24.3. [58] Schmalz 2006: 52 (quotation).

[59] Schmalz 2006: 34. Was this where the Augustan cult of the 'Hestia of the Romans' was housed?

[60] Plut. *Solon* 25.1. Paus. 1.18.3–4; 28.10–11. Full collection of testimonia: *Agora* 3, 166–74.

Here we have Theophilus himself seemingly overseeing the restoration of the Prytaneum, another monument to the Athenian origins of *leges*. It is likely that these brothers from Halae were leading figures in the Athenian movement of the last decades BC to restore cults and traditions showcasing the role of Athens as the cradle of *humanitas*.

Returning to Sparta, it is now fairly clear that the Augustan city under the leadership of C. Iulius Eurycles witnessed a building programme with clear echoes of urban developments in the capital: as with Herod's reconstruction of Jerusalem, it is reasonable on one level to read this activity as imitative flattery of the princeps.[61] The centrepiece was the monumental new theatre discussed in Chapter 3: the biggest building project at Sparta since the construction of the Hellenistic city walls. This theatre was part of a larger process of urbanisation which saw Sparta by the late first century BC finally transformed from a group of discrete villages into a modern city on a grid plan. Eurycles seems to have advanced this process significantly.[62] Archaeological evidence assigns road-building in the city to the Augustan age.[63] Since he can be identified with certainty as the institutor of the local imperial cult, Eurycles was surely – as others have seen – the donor of the two temples (*naoi*) of Caesar and Augustus on the agora seen by Pausanias and probably dating soon after Actium, 'when the erection of a temple of the deified Julius was still conceivable'.[64] Pausanias describes these two temples as if they were the only ones to be seen in the Spartan agora, otherwise the traditional headquarters of the local magistrates and an open space for festal dancing.[65] Their erection in such a dominant position offered 'an unequivocal symbol of the importance of the worship and veneration of the imperial family'; they made Sparta's civic centre more like a Roman forum, traditionally dominated by temples.[66] A stone bridge with arches and openings for flood water of Roman type, no doubt supporting a main road across the River Eurotas, is known from a third-century AD inscription. It was important enough then for its repair to require the intervention of an imperial *corrector*. The access to Roman

[61] Herod: Goodman 2008: 59.

[62] It is not clear whether this Eurycles or his descendant, the senator Eurycles Herculanus, is meant by two passages in Pausanias referring to a 'Spartan called Eurycles' who donated a gymnasium at Sparta (3.14.6) and baths decorated with green marble from Croceae to the Corinthians (2.3.5). The gymnasium is usually ascribed to the senator; likewise the Corinthian baths (Musti and Torelli 1991: 216; 1986: 224). For this identification see too Cartledge and Spawforth 2002: 104, 130, 134. These questions need new finds if they are to be resolved conclusively.

[63] Kourinou 2000: 153 n. 504.

[64] Paus. 3.11.29; Musti and Torelli 1992: 194–5.

[65] Paus. 3.11.2, 4, 9.

[66] Zanker 2000: esp. 33–5.

engineering know-how which this project presupposes makes Eurycles an attractive candidate for its originator.[67]

Further evidence for Spartan building activity under Eurycles comes from fired-clay roof-tiles stamped 'of the *parathesis*'. Seven stamps of this type are attested. They all use lunate letters, and in four instances preserve all or part of the name of the contractor, one Callicratidas.[68] *Pace* Walther Kolbe, this *parathesis* was not a building as such but a 'reserve' of roof-tiles, as is clear from the general sense of the word,[69] and from the wide archaeological distribution of this particular group of stamps at Sparta.[70] Prosopographical indicators place these tile-stamps in the same period as the construction of the new theatre. In particular, the patronomate of Callicrates dates tiles manufactured for both the *parathesis* and the *skānothēkē*, the brick shed built to house the theatre's sliding stage.[71] This stockpiling of roof-tiles suggests a programme of public works at Augustan Sparta which included both repairs and new buildings, as in Augustan Rome but also, as we have seen, as at Athens and Messene under Augustus. Traces of similar activity can also be found in Olympia and Mantinea.

OLYMPIA

Restoration and new building were also hallmarks of developments at Olympia under Augustus. As well as the repairs to the temple of Zeus and the erection of an honorific arch, noted in the last chapter, the German excavators have noticed Augustan repairs to the colonnade and architrave of the South Portico, dating originally from the fourth century BC, as well as the complete rebuilding of the unfinished portico famous in imperial times variously as the Painted or Echo Stoa or the Heptaphonos. It owed these names to the paintings formerly on its walls and 'because if you shout in it the echo of your voice comes back seven times, and sometimes even

[67] As suggested by A. Wilhelm: Cartledge and Spawforth 2002: 131.

[68] *IG* v, 1, 870–6.

[69] Note the *parathe[sin]* of an inscription from Messene, *SEG* 23.201, dated *c.* 170/130 BC and referring 'à la constitution d'une réserve de blé' (J. and L. Robert, *BÉ* 1964: no. 194). Kourinou 2000: 52 n. 107 correctly ('*apothematika*', 'in reserve').

[70] This last point was emphasised by Woodward 1928–30: 233–4, refuting Kolbe's argument.

[71] *IG* v, 1, 872, 878–80; see Kolbe's lemma to 870; Waywell and Wilkes 1999: 449–55. Note too the rare name 'Taras', whose patronomate dates a *parathesis* stamp (*IG* v, 1, 874) and the father and son Taras son of Timolas and Timolas son of Taras who appear in two (*IG* v, 1, 211.43; 212.41) of the three catalogues of Taenarii, of which the third (*IG* v, 1, 210), close in date to the other two (see Kolbe's commentary to *IG* v, 1, 212), is also dated to the patronomate of Callicrates. See Kourinou 2000: 52–7, with whom the writer is in broad agreement, although she assigns these stamps a broad date in the first century BC, overlooking the specifically Augustan context. (The restoration of the name of the *patronomos* in *IG* v, 1, 871 is problematic.)

more'. In its Augustan form this building recreated the massive scale as well as the architectural style of a much older portico by standing on the foundations of the original building and reusing columns and capitals of Late Classical date for the superstructure. Cost may have come into this reliance on spolia, but the modern view that an appearance of antiquity was deliberately sought is no doubt correct, given that the same phenomenon is so widespread across Augustan Greece.[72] This conclusion is borne out too by the history of the building at Olympia which Pausanias called the Metroon:

> A temple, modest in size and Doric in style, they still call the Metroon even down to my day, preserving its ancient name. But inside there is no divine statue of the Mother of the gods, but they have erected statues of Roman emperors. (Paus. 5.20.9)

The original date of the temple is not entirely certain – probably it was built at the end of the fifth century BC. The temple was evidently ruined at the time of its restoration under Augustus, and the original image of Rhea – the Mother – had gone. The new destiny of the restored temple is confirmed by a building inscription originally placed on the architrave of the east façade. This records the dedication by 'the Eleans' of a temple of Caesar *Sebastos*, 'the saviour of the Hellenes and the whole world' – wording in which the redactor reflects the panhellenic claims of Olympia.[73] The date is sometime between 27 BC and the death of Augustus. Inside, a newly commissioned colossus, a standing figure in marble over 4 metres high, represented Augustus in the pose of Jupiter, holding a sceptre and probably a thunderbolt. The size of the statue and the fact that it filled the rear half of the inner shrine must have put the ancient viewer in mind of the renowned Phidian Zeus in the nearby temple of Zeus.[74] As Konrad Hitzl has noted, the installation of this monolithic statue in the inner shrine presupposes the absence of both a shrine wall and the roof, which would have obstructed the lifting gear.[75] Such appears to have been the ruinous state of the old temple, which had been so badly damaged that the old metopes were apparently unusable. Here too, it looks as if the desire to recreate a Classical shrine was driven by more than economics. As with the nearby Echo Portico the intention seems to have been to use old or refurbished buildings to create a Classicising environment for the focal point of the Altis, the Classical temple of Zeus.

[72] Paus. 5.21.7. Plin. *HN* 36.23. Koenigs 1984: 4–6 (Echo). Willemsen 1959: 82 (South Portico).
[73] See Ferrary 2001 on this type of claim. [74] Hitzl 1991: 95. [75] Ibid. 15–16.

In spirit there is a strong similarity here with the transformation of the Athenian Agora in the same period. In both cases the focus of a larger built-up space was a building constructed or repaired by Agrippa, with Classical or classicising monuments sprouting up in the vicinity. The creators of these spaces sought to express the new role of the imperial state as stakeholder in the Classical traditions of Olympian cult and agonistics on the one hand and, on the other, Athenian *artes*: hence in both locales this juxtaposition, which seems jarring to us, of the Classical or classicising with modern polychromy in the Augustan manner. It seems likely that Agrippa directly inspired both complexes in collaboration with provincial donors acting on conversations with Agrippa and his architects. At Elis the local input is specifically identified: the Metroon was restored and rededicated to 'the saviour of the Hellenes' by the '*polis* of the Eleans'.[76] Behind this act we should imagine the efforts of leading local notables of manifest Romanity such as Ti. Claudius Apollonius or the family of M. Antonius Pisanus. Through these Roman and Greek synergies begun in the late first century BC, Olympia acquired the character of the 'sacred museum' celebrated by the travel writer Pausanias two centuries later.[77]

MANTINEA

An inscription from Augustan Mantinea combines in one text a number of the themes of this book: the interaction between resident Romans and their host *poleis*, questions of oratorical style in the public life of Greek cities under Roman rule, Augustan marital morality, and building activity, including the restoration of temples and cults.

Mantinea – strictly speaking 'Antigonea', the name the city took under Antigonus Gonatas and retained until the reign of Hadrian – occupied the northern half of the large and fertile plain which dominates eastern Arcadia. A lesser city than Argos in economic terms, under Augustus it briefly punched above its political weight thanks to its momentous decision to join Sparta as the second of only two cities in Greece which sent men to fight on the side of Octavian, not Antony, at Actium. According to

[76] *IVO* 366; *SEG* 42.390. Kantiréa 2007: 51 with n. 2; 147–9. The contrast to a modern eye between the poor quality of the lettering and the high quality of the statue of Zeus has led to the view, unjustified in my opinion, that the project was funded by Agrippa (Kantiréa 2007: 148 with n. 4). Imperial funding was a source of prestige, especially at this date when it was a novelty: compare the Athenian dedication on the gateway to the 'Roman Agora', highlighting the funding by Caesar and Augustus: *IG* ii^2, 3175.

[77] The expression is that of Elsner 2001: 18, arguing that Pausanias presents the Altis as 'the pinnacle of . . . cultural Greece'.

Pausanias, this was 'for no other reason, it seems to me, except that the Spartans supported Augustus'.[78] Sparta and Mantinea enjoyed a historic friendship based on mutual dislike of Tegea. After Actium, these vindictive neighbours may have cheered Octavian when he looted relics from a famous Tegean temple.[79] At any rate, Mantinea was enthusiastic in welcoming the victory. Pausanias describes a ruined temple of 'Aphrodite surnamed Ally (*Summachis*)', which had been built by the city 'as a memorial to posterity of their fighting together with the Romans in the sea-battle at Actium'. The Mantineans were au fait with the victor's self-representation too: Aphrodite clearly stood for Venus, Octavian's divine ancestor.[80]

Among the Mantinean elite C. Iulii make an early appearance. Sometime in the first century AD, to judge from the letter-forms, a certain Iulia Eudia, daughter of Eutelinus, was honoured in turn by two local religious associations after making modest gifts of agricultural land (six and fourteen *plethra* respectively) to Mantinean cults.[81] This well-to-do landowner, said to belong to a family of *aristoi*, was married to a husband who was also a Julian *civis*, one C. Iulius Strobilus. It is so unexpected to find a small place like Mantinea with two families of C. Iulii at this date that two inferences can be drawn. Firstly, the Roman citizenship of this married couple went back to Augustus and reflects the political favour in which Mantinea basked after Actium. Secondly, grants of citizenship by Augustus being as rare as they were in Greece, Eudia had probably married a patrilinear kinsman, so that the citizenship of both in fact derived from a single grant to a common ancestor, who no doubt was among the most prominent of the Mantinean supporters of Octavian.[82]

The key piece of evidence for the civic mood in Augustan Mantinea is a long inscription forming part of an honorific monument for a husband-and-wife team of local benefactors, Euphrosynus and Epigone. It was set up in a collaboration between the city of Mantinea and – once again – a community of resident Roman businessmen. The monument was eye-catching. It originally comprised a pair of statues on a monumental pedestal, inscribed with a long text on the marble plaques at the front. Fifty-three lines from what was originally a longer accompanying inscription are preserved, forty-eight of them from the hortative clause of the enabling decree.

[78] Paus. 8.8.12.

[79] Paus. 8.46.1–4, a notable defence of the action of Augustus (Arafat 1996: 127–9). Scheer 1995: 213–14, 219 suggests that Athena was singled out as having been Antony's tutelary deity.

[80] Jost 1996: 193.

[81] *IG* v, 1, 269–70; van Bremen 1996: 270.

[82] Rizakis 2001: 182–4 discusses the Peloponnesian Julii, but not Eudia and her husband specifically. Cp. *RP* 1 ARC 91, 110.

The date of the inscription has been disputed. Its first editor, Gustave Fougères, attributed it to Flavian times. One of his arguments was archaeological, hinging on an inscribed altar 'of *Thea Ioulia Sebastē*' found, not in situ, but in the fill of an ancient well in the civic centre of Mantinea. Fougères identified this 'Julia' with Sabina, daughter of the emperor Titus, and then linked 'her' altar with a nearby structure which he identified as the *makellos*, one of the buildings given by Euphrosynus and his wife Epigone. He assumed that the altar originally stood in this so-called *makellos*, for which it then provided a terminus post quem. This is a weak argument on more than one count. Claire de Ruyt in her study of *macella* argues that the structure excavated by Fougères is too small, irregular and shoddily built to be the *makellos* of the inscription, although it might have been an annexe to it. Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Möllendorf saw that the altar must have belonged to a Mantinean cult, not of Sabina, but of Livia ('Julia Augusta' from AD 15; deified under Claudius). Not even found in situ, the altar should be left aside in the debate over date.[83]

The text itself provides the best clues as to date. It refers to Mantinean embassies to the Senate, which must have taken place either before AD 15 or after AD 33, since Achaia in this period was no longer a senatorial but (part of) an imperial province (Moesia). On any view the text can date no earlier than 27 BC, since it refers to an imperial family, its members flowerily described as 'bearers of the Sebastan features' (*sebasteioi charaktēres*, lines 23–24). This reference to an imperial family was inappropriate much before 21 BC, when Agrippa married Augustus' daughter Julia, and better suits the years after 17 BC, when Augustus adopted their two sons, C. and L. Caesar.[84]

Wilamowitz deduced a date by an interesting argument based on the language itself. Fougères had classed the text as a 'specimen of provincial eloquence'. Wilamowitz, however, pointed out that its style was 'anything but provincial'. From the periphrastic language, the poetic and philosophical touches, and the strong prose rhythm he argued – on the contrary – that the text was drafted by someone schooled to a high level in Hellenistic style. He went on to argue that this was not a style on which the Atticist 'revolution' of Augustan times had made a mark. Judging that the stylistic change claimed by Dionysius of Halicarnassus could be detected in decrees of the *koinon* of Asia in 9 BC, and assuming that civic oratory in small-town Arcadia would respond to the latest fashions more slowly than the milieu

[83] De Ruyt 1983: 107–8; 288 n. 5.

[84] Kantiréa 2007: 56 sees the provincial reception of the dynastic ambitions of Augustus manifest itself in earnest following the marriage of Agrippa and Julia (21 BC).

of a *koinon* representing great cities like Ephesus, Smyrna and Pergamum, he therefore dated the Mantinean decree between 10 BC and AD 10.[85]

More recently, Raoul Baladié has produced equally interesting arguments for an Augustan date on the basis of the moral tenor of the content. The text does indeed have a number of features redolent of the picture constructed earlier for neighbouring Sparta and Argos under Augustus. Euphrosynus son of Titus was clearly a leading civic personality. Wilamowitz compared the scale of his local benefaction to that of Eurycles at Sparta, Epaminondas at Acraephia under the Julio-Claudians and Atticus *père* at Athens under Trajan. Euphrosynus is said to have 'inherited forethought for his fatherland from his ancestors'; his wife Epigone daughter of Artemo was a 'citizeness by descent'. He was the son of a 'Titus', bearer of a Roman *praenomen* as a Greek personal name at birth. It appears that Euphrosynus was born into a citizen-family of local stock but closely connected, and conceivably intermarried, with Mantinea's Roman community.[86] In light of the usual 'rules' of Greek onomastics, the name 'Titus' could signify kinship between the bearer and an earlier homonym, such as a maternal grandfather.[87] It is at least possible, then, that on his father's side Euphrosynus descended from people of Italian ancestry established in Greece by the late republic.

The benefactions of the husband included the regulation of the local supply of grain, the provision of bricks (*plinthoi*) to repair a part of the gymnasium which had burnt down, and two embassies to the Senate in Rome at his own expense. Epigone is given her own list of benefactions. They included the reconstruction of an unspecified number of 'temples (*naoi*) crumbled to their foundations', of (ritual) dining rooms, and of treasuries for the local religious associations (*sunodoi*). She also voluntarily assumed the priesthood 'of every goddess' at great cost, and feasted the whole body of the city. The couple then went further, providing a brand-new *makellos* or alimentary market near or on the agora, along with associated workshops (*ergastēria*), central exedra, covered hall (*baitēs*) for winter use and a peristyle of marble columns.

The Romanity of much of the content of this decree is clear. The *makellos* was the Greek version of the *macellum*, a distinctly Roman type of enclosed food market incorporating – as here – shops. It makes its first appearance in the Greek-speaking provinces precisely at Mantinea: the *makellos* there was

[85] *SIG*³ 783 = *IG* v, 2, 268. Published by Fougères 1896: 124–31; further commentary by Wilamowitz-Möllendorff 1900b: 536–42; Baladié 1980: 299–300; van Bremen 1996: 138–9, 274–5. Altar: *IG* v, 2, 301: Fougères 1896: 150–1. Asian decrees: Sherk 1969: no. 65d.

[86] For this kind of problem see Byrne 2003b: 5.

[87] See the excellent summary by Elaine Matthews, *OCD*³ s.v. names, personal, Greek.

even earlier than the *macellum* of the nearby colony of Corinth, dated by an inscription and by the remains to the first half of the first century AD.[88] This precocity should be explained by the links of the donor couple with the resident Romans, whose *negotia* may have embraced the middleman role in provisioning Mantinea with victuals.

The mention of *plinthoi*, meaning 'bricks', whether sun-dried or fired, is also significant. Mantinea had a tradition of employing mudbrick, notably for the superstructure of the Hellenistic city wall. But Roman Mantinea also used fired brick.[89] As seen in Chapter 3, as far as is known nearby Sparta first started to use fired bricks (also called *plinthoi*) under Augustus.[90] At Sparta the explanation has to do with the Romanity of the likely donor, C. Iulius Eurycles. The emphatic praise of the Mantinean decree for the generosity of Euphrosynus in donating these bricks – he had commissioned them for his private use but then 'put the public adornment (*kosmos*) before his domestic needs' (lines 18–21) – either makes a rhetorical mountain out of a molehill (a gift of dried mudbricks), or commemorates the far more substantial gift of fired brick: substantial, not only because fired bricks were a superior building material, but also because they were relatively expensive, requiring kiln technology and fuel. Given the Romanity of Euphrosynus and his donation of a Roman-style *makellos*, these *plinthoi* were probably the new-fangled fired version, just starting to appear in Rome itself.[91] Indeed, this inscription suggests how the initial appearance of Roman building styles and technology could have functioned as examples of what modern theory calls 'emblematic style': '"formal variation in material culture that has a distinct referent and transmits a clear message to a defined target population about conscious affiliation or identity"'.[92]

The other striking feature of the text is its ethical presentation of Euphrosynus and Epigone as a couple who linked patriotism with conjugal harmony. Epigone was 'husband-loving' (*philandros*), 'blended with him in worthy (*axiois*) nuptials'. 'For they were yoked together, life to life, and spirit and body, and on both sides indivisible concord reigned' (lines 39; 32–34). In her excellent discussion, Riet van Bremen plays down the possible influence of Augustan ideas on these sentiments. She sees this image of the married couple as a natural progression from the tradition of Hellenistic collaboration between husbands and wives in civic benefaction. She also wondered whether the impact of Augustan reforms could have been felt in provincial Mantinea so quickly. Baladié was closer to the truth,

[88] De Ruyt 1983: 55–61; 60. [89] Fougères 1898: 179. [90] *IG* v, 1, 880.
[91] For Greek use of fired brick generally see Dodge 1987 (omitting the Mantinean evidence).
[92] Wallace-Hadrill 2008: 103, in turn quoting the work of P. Wiessner.

I believe, in seeing the expression of these sentiments as something 'new' in the Greek language of benefaction, and as typically Augustan in their emphasis on the perfect understanding between the donor couple, founded not only on bodily and spiritual union but also a community of patriotic interests. He saw these sentiments as a reflection of the moral order of Augustan Rome with its harnessing of family values to civic virtue. He believed firmly that the redactor of the text must have been aware of the Augustan reforms and their aims.

This last point cannot really be controversial: quite apart from the involvement of the local Romans, Euphrosynus had twice been to Augustan Rome himself and had first-hand knowledge of its cultural mood. As for the language of the decree, it presumably reflects that of the initial speech proposing the honours in the city's council and assembly, as much, if not more than, the prose style of the redactor, who would have been the secretary of the council. Two, later, occupants of this post are attested at Mantinea, their Romanity clear from the fact that both of them were local notables with Roman citizenship and, probably, of Italian ancestry. It is not hard to imagine the decree for Euphrosynus and Epigone being proposed by an influential representative of the older generation, his schooling in rhetoric rounded off in the decades before Actium. It is noteworthy that, at the time of these honours for two leading Mantineans, well into the reign of Augustus, this style of speaking was reckoned to be compatible with the proposing of honours for two local paragons of the Augustan order. It may be that the issue was simply not seen in these terms by the local elite and the resident Romans. Or it may be that the standing of the speaker at Mantinea outweighed misgivings about his style. The decree is a reminder of the risks of over-schematising the reception of Augustan stylistic judgements even in the heart of old Greece.

As Baladié saw, the decree shows the openness of these Mantinean notables to the ethical stance of the Augustan 'new order', with its emphasis on 'the return to the old traditions and to good morals'.[93] The wife Epigone is presented as a model of civic piety of the conserving kind: she repairs ruined temples, and she energises traditional female cults through her multiple tenure 'with lavish outlay' of priesthoods of 'all' the city's goddesses. At Mantinea we sense once more the particular appeal of Augustan ideology for the type of the pious female matriarch.

[93] Baladié 1980: 300; 'Il est donc certain que la politique d'Auguste y [at Mantinea i.e.] fut, de tout temps, bien accueillie. Le décret que nous venons de voir, dont certains passages peuvent s'interprèter comme des prises de position idéologiques, veut nous donner l'impression que son ordre moral, le retour aux vieilles traditions et aux bonnes moeurs, y trouva un terrain tout préparé.'

As it happens Mantinea offers other examples of the type from either side of the Augustan age. As well as Julia Eudia (above), in 44/3 BC a benefactress named Phaena daughter of Damatrius received a long honorific decree from the 'association of the priestesses of Demeter' for services and generosities, with which she had associated a daughter and granddaughter.[94] Most revealing of all, perhaps, is the Nicippe, daughter of Paseas, honoured by a Mantinean decree of 62/1 BC which thanks her for her services to the local cult of Core. These included not only her personal participation in the rituals, but also her funding of the sacrifices of the goddess's festival and construction work – the roofing of Core's megaron.[95] Thirty years later, in middle or old age, it was Nicippe who gave the statue of Aphrodite Symmachis to the Mantinean temple which celebrated Actium.[96] The *pietas* of the victor of Actium, promptly signalled to a Greek audience by his first Eleusinian initiation in September of 31 BC, would have had its attractions for these rich and pious Mantinean women. To repeat my point, within the stratum of the Greek elite, Augustan values had their appeal for the women, as well as the men.

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So far this book has argued that the regime of Augustus sought to construct, in effect, an official narrative concerning the brand of Hellenism best suited to Roman usage. Imperial approval for this brand was signalled through the pervasive classicism of official Augustan culture and also by Augustus in person, along with Agrippa and lesser members of the imperial family, during visits to Greece, where Athens in particular, but also Sparta, Olympia and Nicopolis, became sites of imperial communication with Romans and provincials alike. The official position built on favourable attitudes in late republican Rome to the achievements of old Greece and especially Athens and Sparta. It constituted an Augustan response to the problem of Roman decadence and Roman ambivalence about cultural Hellenism. It built on an existing anti-Asian mood at Rome so as to present Antony as a 'degenerate Oriental sybarite'.[97]

One qualification of the southern Balkans for this Augustan enthronement of Classical Greece was precisely the traditional image of the region as poor, in contrast to Asia with its legendary wealth. This association with an improving penury can be traced at least as far back as Herodotus: '"in Hellas poverty (*penie̅*) is ever native to the soil, but courage (*arete̅*) comes of [the Greeks'] own seeking, fruit of wisdom and strong law; by use of

[94] *IG* v, 2, 266. [95] *IG* v, 1, 265. See the discussion of Jost 1996.
[96] Paus. 8.9.6. [97] Hose 1999: 'degenerierter, orientalischer Schwelgerei'.

courage Hellas defends itself from poverty and tyranny"'. The moralising viewpoint of this passage, from the speech of Demaratus to Xerxes, would have resonated with the Roman reader: limited resources form a natural breeding ground for austerity and physical toughness. Moreover, these martial qualities are implicitly contrasted by Herodotus with the luxury of the archaic Lydians, which had caused them to succumb to Persia, and of the Persians themselves, who would shortly succumb to the Greeks.[98] Their experience of Hellenistic Greece brought the Romans into direct contact with this image, not least because the Greeks themselves burnished it in the hope of appealing to austere Roman morals. In 170 BC Athenian ambassadors told the Senate that the Athenians had provisioned two Roman generals with grain as required, 'although they tilled a barren soil (*sterilem terram*) and supported even their farmers on imported grain'.[99] By the first century BC the poverty of Attic soil had become a stereotype to be deployed in Roman debates about oratorical style. Cicero drew a humorous analogy between the style of the *Attici* and the 'meagreness, dryness and poverty' (*ieiunitatem et siccitatem et inopiam*) of Attica. Quintilian asked whether 'frugality' was the true hallmark of an Attic style.[100] In the Greece of the late republic cultural expectations and reality had fused, to an extent which remains debated, thanks to depopulation and the ruinous effect of Roman wars.[101] Under the Antonines the stereotype lingered on. A fragmentary letter from Fronto to the emperor Marcus seems to evoke the oratorical style of 'the men (*viri*) of Attica' who 'chew over the thyme of Hymettus'.[102] As we saw, the praetorian prefect of Marcus described Roman legions softened by the luxury of their Syrian billet as 'grecianised'.[103] In this discourse, to return by a different route to a point made in Chapter 1, nature qualified Greece for its role of moral foil to Asia, the breeding ground par excellence of *luxuria*.

[98] Hdt. 7.102.1; cp. 9.82. Van Wees 2002: 342–3 for the implied contrast with Asiatics. Cp. Thuc. 1.2.5 (Attica specifically).

[99] Liv. 43.6.3.

[100] Cic. *Brut*. 82.285. Quint. *Inst*. 12.10.20–25.

[101] Baladié 1980: 301–38; Alcock 1993: 24–32 with Coarelli 2009, arguing that depopulation in the ancient sources was a historical reality.

[102] Fronto *Ant. Imp*. 3.10 (van den Hout), with the discussion of this passage, written in a second hand in the codex outside the body of the letter, of van den Hout 1999: 261.

[103] SHA *vit. Avid. Cass*. 5.10. These issues are also themed in imperial Greek literature. The Philostratean Apollonius disapproves of the aberrant luxury of contemporary Spartans, whom he finds looking 'daintier than Lydians and full of foppery (*subaris*)' (a knowing reference to the ephebic 'procession of the Lydians' discussed in ch. 2?). The Lucianic Nigrinus admires the Athenian love of 'poverty' and dislike of luxury: Philostr. *Vit. Ap*. 4.27. Lucian *Nigr*. 12–16. For the proper state of affairs, sartorially speaking, at Sparta note Plin. *HN* 33.4.9: iron rings are worn there 'even now (*etiam nunc*)'. Note too similar sentiments in Athenaeus: 4.148d; 5.212c.

I have argued that there were two audiences for the 'new Hellenism' of Augustus. One comprised western Romans, to whom the state for the first time now held up an exemplary Hellenism as a cultural model. The second audience was constituted by eastern provincials, to whom the imperial state signalled not only its support for, but also from now on its stake in, Greek culture of the right sort. The regime was engaged in a project of cultural construction which sought to accommodate, and to some extent to constrain, Greekness within a Roman framework. Roman social cohesion after the devastation of the last decades of the republic was the primary concern of Augustus. The official narrative also had the effect of opening, or rather broadening, a 'channel of communication' with Greek notables wishing to emphasise their Romanity. These people were now entrusted, in effect, with the recreation, in a certain way and on Roman terms, of Classical Greece. This reconstructed Greece was shorn, naturally, of the old freedom and democracy. Instead it was full of reminders of what made Classical Greece admirable in Roman eyes: *humanitas*, above all meaning the cultural achievement of Athens, along with memories of the successful defence of this civilisation from barbarian threat, martial success made possible by an erstwhile Greek *virtus* symbolised above all by Sparta. Key imperial initiatives signalled this ideological package to the Greeks and provided the impetus for further implementation by the provincials themselves in a process of 'social regeneration for which the initiative came from Rome'.[104] The package included the theme of religious reform. Greek notables now used cult to present their Romanity and as one of the most effective tools available for reviving memories of the Classical past.

As these chapters have argued, the stratum of notables in Augustan Greece appears to have been eager to work with the Augustan regime. If new Roman citizens are a rarity in the province at this time, the overriding explanation must be the careful control by Augustus of what it meant to be Roman. The well-known invective which Cn. Calpurnius Piso directed against the Athenians on a visit to the city in AD 18, when this high-ranking Roman, consul in 7 BC, berated the city for its past disloyalty to Rome including its support of 'Antony against the deified Augustus', is a harsh reminder of a view of Athens which many Romans at this time probably held.[105] This view can also be factored into any explanation of the parsimony of Augustus in regard to Athens specifically.

[104] Thus Marchetti 2001b: 457, posing a perceptive question about urbanistic developments at Augustan Sparta and Argos to which this book attempts to deliver an affirmative answer.
[105] Tac. *Ann.* 2.55.1–2. Malissard 2007: 324–5.

This picture of Augustan cultural intervention in Greece hardly fits with an imperial Rome where 'no political or cultural action is attested on the part of the ruling power except in very rare cases and in the aftermath of conquest'.[106] The view taken here is an unoriginal one: the reign of Augustus was entirely exceptional in its interventionist approach to the settlement not only of Rome but also the provinces. The rarity of imperial visits to Greece from the death of Augustus to Hadrian is itself a measure of Augustan exceptionality (and indeed Hadrianic).[107]

The years between AD 117 and 138 saw an extraordinary restatement by the imperial power of the official Augustan narrative concerning the 'true' Greece, Hadrian posing in this as in other matters as a conscious imitator of the founder of the imperial monarchy. The next and last chapter examines the nature of this effort, its aims and its impact.

[106] Le Bohec 2008: 135.

[107] See Perrin-Saminadayar 2007 on this negative. Since Roman emperors did not habitually tour the provinces in peacetime, however, arguably what really need explanation are, not the imperial absences, but the imperial presences, above all those of Augustus and Hadrian, as this book tries to do.

CHAPTER 6

Hadrian and the legacy of Augustus

AUGUSTAN GREECE IN LARGER CONTEXT

Before leaving Augustus, it is worth standing back to ask whether his regime treated Athens, and Greece as a whole, any differently from other traditional centres of cultural prestige in the Hellenistic world. Taking Alexandria first, both Plutarch and Dio report the speech delivered by Octavian in the Alexandrian gymnasium in 30 BC following the death of Cleopatra and Antony, in which he forgave the Alexandrians and Egyptians in part, he said, because he admired the 'beauty and size' of the city.[1]

Strabo records how, along the coast 5.4 kilometres to the east, he proceeded to found another Nicopolis on the site of his defeat of Antony's forces; here likewise he provided facilities for the celebration of quinquennial victory games. The parallel with Nicopolis in Epirus is clear, although in Egypt Octavian merely founded what Strabo calls a 'suburb' (*proasteion*), not a fully-fledged *polis*. Despite Octavian's professed admiration for Alexandria as a city, the same author states that this new Nicopolis brought about the neglect and near-abandonment of civic and religious buildings in the older settlement.[2] Alexandrian Nicopolis symbolised the humiliation of the Graeco-Ptolemaic dispensation, marked by Octavian's forced annexation of Egypt as a Roman province and garrisoning of the old royal capital with three legions; under Tiberius this garrison was stationed precisely in the old Roman camp at Nicopolis. There are other signs of imperial building, including a Forum Iulium 'given' by the first prefect, Cornelius Gallus, and a Caesareum in Alexandria, possibly begun by Cleopatra, where Augustus was worshipped.[3] These expressions of Roman

[1] Plut. *Ant.* 80.1; Cass. Dio 51.16.4. [2] Strab. 17.1.10 (C795).

[3] Strab. 17.1.8 (C794) (Museum); 17.1.9 (C794) (Caesareum). Nicopolis: Hanson 1980. Alexandria: McKenzie 2007: 79 ('Forum Iulium') and 177–8 (Caesareum). Mitchell 1987: 22: an aqueduct at Alexandria for which Augustus was 'in some sense' responsible. Capponi forthcoming discusses papyrological evidence for a commercial *tetragōnos agora* at Alexandria rebuilt under Augustus, although not necessarily by him (cp. the *tetragōnos agora* at Augustan Ephesus, now thought to be a gift of the Ephesian *conventus civium Romanorum*: Scherrer 2007).

power apart, however, there is little or no sign that Augustus, who visited Alexandria just the once, actively sought to restore its Ptolemaic glory-days as a centre of cultural Hellenism, even if the Museum now passed from royal to imperial control.[4] On the other hand, the Augustan settlement of Egypt overall, with its emphasis on the security and exploitation of the richest by far of all Rome's provinces, is seen nowadays as a 'decisive turning point'.[5]

In Antioch-on-the-Orontes, the Augustan approach was clearly different. John Malalas provides evidence for a programme of public works instigated by Agrippa, with additional building patronage by Herod.[6] Here, no doubt, we should recognise a purposeful move by the imperial centre to showcase its resources and benevolence in the old Seleucid capital. By contrast, significant investment by the regime in Pergamum, a major centre of Greek culture in Attalid times, cannot at present be detected, although Augustus exploited the lingering 'showcase' aspect of the city, since he dedicated Parthian spoils in the sanctuary of Athena there in 20 BC.[7]

What is different in the case of Greece is that here the imperial state intervened in varied ways across a whole cultural landscape and did so, not just from reasons of Realpolitik but in order – as argued here – to promote its preferred model of Hellenism. Augustan intervention in Greece was both similar to and different from the long tradition of royal patronage of Greek cultural showcases by Hellenistic rulers. The Attalids had manipulated the Persian Wars tradition. Hellenistic kings routinely displayed their *eusebeia* and *philanthrōpia* through investment in 'international' Hellenism, including Athens, where they were 'prompted to display their wealth and power [. . .] because of the city's great prestige'.[8] As Kostas Buraselis has argued, the Ptolemies did so because they conceived of their kingdom as Greek. This meant that 'Greece (and, of course, the rest of the Greek world) remained for [Ptolemaic Egypt] an inevitable centre of human resources', to benefit from which the Ptolemies needed to project a certain cultural image of themselves to the Greek heartlands.[9] The same sort of argument

[4] I note that Alston 2002: 154, in his discussion of Strabo's description of early-Augustan Alexandria, credits Augustus with a 'policy of restoration of the great cities of the Greek world to their former glory' by implication embracing Alexandria.

[5] Capponi 2005: 170 (quotation); Bowman 1996.

[6] Malalas 222.15–22; 225.3–11; 223.17–19; Joseph. *BJ* 1.425; *AJ* 16.148 with Downey 1961: 169–76 ('a major transformation'); Kennedy 1996: 718.

[7] Radt 2001 has nothing to say about Augustus: for him the Roman redevelopment of Pergamum comes under Trajan and Hadrian. Trophy: Schäfer 1998: 70–81. The old royal library of Pergamum, given by Antony to Alexandria, was not returned after Actium.

[8] Habicht 1997a: 226. [9] Buraselis 1993: esp. 257.

could be made for the Attalids in choosing to promote the idea of Pergamum as a new Athens. As a consequence rather than an aim of Roman imperialism, Augustan Rome had become the new Mediterranean capital of Greek culture. The Romans, however, never conceived of the *res publica* as culturally Greek, no matter how much Greek cultural forms served to express Roman ideas. The 'official Hellenism' of the Augustan state – as this book has consistently argued – was coloured by distinctly Roman moral debates which find no parallels in the earlier dynastic Hellenism of Ptolemies, Attalids or Seleucids. Unlike the arm's-length relationship of these monarchies with Greece, finally, Augustan Rome was the overlord of the region. Under Augustus, military and political hegemony gave an unprecedented authority to the projection of imperial preferences in Hellenism.

FROM AUGUSTUS TO HADRIAN

That the legacy of Augustus was not a final resolution of cultural tensions at Rome is clear from 'elements of dissonance' detectable in the reception of Augustan ideology in Augustan Rome itself, and even within the imperial family, as suggested by the 'Hellenistic' tastes of Tiberius. Wallace-Hadrill has observed that the legacy was, rather, 'a new set of conflicts and tensions'.[10] This final chapter aims primarily to re-examine aspects of Hadrianic Hellenism as a resounding restatement of the official narrative created by Augustus which located the Greek roots of Roman civilisation in European Greece. In the intervening period, imperial initiatives in Greece can be used to gauge, on the one hand, the authority of the ideological paradigm inherited from Augustus and, on the other, some of the forces arraigned against it.

The Augustan stabilisation of the empire reduced the political need for emperors to make civilian tours of the provinces, something which would only resume with Hadrian, as exceptional in his peacetime interventionism as Augustus. In the interim, imperial interest in Greece, with the signal exception of Nero, remained at arm's length. Agrippa, who restored the temple that housed the Phidian Zeus, was the grandfather of Gaius, whose response to the renown of this statue was of a different order: a command for its dismantlement and removal from Olympia for reuse in a new cult of the living emperor at Rome.[11] Claudius, officially remembered, by contrast to

[10] Wallace-Hadrill 1989: 164. [11] Joseph *A. J.* 19.7–10; Cass. Dio 59.28.3–4; Suet. *Calig.* 57.1.

Gaius, as a 'respectable' Julio-Claudian emperor, accepted the eponymous archonship at Delphi. He thus became the first Roman emperor to hold an honorific magistracy in Greece.[12] Like Augustus, he reiterated the symbolic link between the imperial role and Eleusis. Imperial iconography gave his features to Triptolemus in various minor artworks, and Suetonius states that he contemplated the transference of the Eleusinian mysteries from Attica to Rome. Since the measure was never carried out, it is unclear what the emperor had in mind. A literal translation of the Mirthless Rock and the Callichoron Well was hardly feasible. He may have planned what Hadrian is said to have actually done when the later emperor 'celebrated at Rome in the Athenian manner the rites of Ceres and Liber which are called the Eleusinian Mysteries'. Romans were used to the idea of translating foreign cults to Rome. Claudius may have contemplated an Eleusinian offshoot in Rome. Despite the uniqueness of Eleusis, the Eleusinian-style mysteries encountered by Pausanias elsewhere in Greece show that some kind of ritual replication was considered feasible in imperial times. Such a branch cult would have been in keeping with Augustan respect for Eleusis as well as strengthening the post-Classical tendency to universalise the myth of the mysteries.[13]

Nero was a cultural innovator on a grand scale whose visit to Greece, the first by an emperor since Augustus, played on the image of the 'true' Greece in new ways. Nigel Kennell has convincingly shown that what is known of his itinerary and victories precisely fits his professed aim in touring the province of becoming a *periodonikēs*, a victor in at least four of the six panhellenic festivals which at that time comprised the newly expanded 'circuit' (*periodos*) of traditional games. Like Augustus at Eleusis but on a much larger scale, he required festivals to be celebrated out of time. Unlike Augustus he broke with centuries of Greek tradition by demanding the addition of musical contests to the hitherto strictly athletic and equestrian programme of the Olympia. His larger purpose constituted a significant challenge to Roman *mos*. In recent years his pursuit of agonistic glory in Greece by competing in musical and charioteering events has been re-evaluated. Barbara Levick sees it as part of a 'general attempt to change Roman aristocratic mores and Roman values in general, so that gymnastics, playing instruments, singing and composing, stage and circus performances

[12] *SEG* 51.607 with Rigsby 2004.

[13] *LIMC* 8.1 (1997): 68 (G. Schwarz). Suet. *Claud.* 25.5; Aur. Vict. *Caes.* 14.4 (. . . *initia Cereris Liberaeque, quae Eleusina dicitur, Atheniensium modo Roma percoleret.*) See Clinton 1989a: 1513–14, apropos Claudius ('This was probably a real attempt.'); also Sordi 2007: 47–9, stressing Claudian philhellenism. For such self-styled branch cults in Greece: Alföldi 1979: 556; Deshours 2006: 221.

would come to be thought suitable for upper class participation . . .'[14] Equally conflicting with Roman tradition was his intention of seeking success in the Greek games as an alternative to Roman military glory, if the argument is correct that he celebrated his agonistic achievement in the capital with a quasi-triumph, including the novel spectacle of entering the city through a breach in the wall, a military act 'bearing witness to the ability of the victorious hero to defend the city'.[15] While in Greece Nero's *coup de théâtre* was a speech in which he announced the liberation of the province of Achaia from direct Roman rule, stating as his reason the piety and loyalty which the Greeks had always shown towards him.[16] As a result southern Greece occupied for a few years a privileged position in the Roman world, enjoying complete autonomy and tax immunity, until Vespasian rescinded the grant, allegedly because of local disorders but in fact for fiscal reasons.[17] In holding up so sensationally the specialness of the 'true' Greece during his agonistic tour, Nero made clear his respect for the prestige of its ancient festivals. However, he also subverted the traditions of the 'true' Greece by the changes which he demanded to agonistic calendars and programmes, and by avoiding Athens and Sparta, the twin poles of *Graecia vera*. It is true that his agonistic itinerary did not require a visit to either city. Cassius Dio claims that he avoided Sparta because of 'the laws of Lycurgus, which stood in the way of his designs', and Athens 'because of the story about the Furies', a reference which Suetonius, perhaps drawing on the same source, elaborates: 'he did not venture to take part in the Eleusinian mysteries, since at the beginning the godless and wicked are warned by the herald's proclamation to go hence'.[18] Behind these passages, which play melodramatically on Nero's matricide, can be detected a genuine rationale for these evasions: imperial self-distancing from the official narrative of a Roman Hellenism rooted in the 'true' Greece and lionising Spartan austerity and Athenian *humanitas*. Nero is a clear, if extreme, example of the failure of Augustus to suppress the seductive appeal of Asia at the heart of the Roman elite. The influence of the Achaemenid royal style has been detected in the Domus Aurea, and of Ptolemaic *basilikoi paides* in Nero's *iuvenes Augustiani*. This ideological cum political engagement by Nero with Oriental/Hellenistic royal style was echoed in his rhetorical choices.[19] The style of the mature Nero can be gauged from the speech in which he liberated Achaia before an assembly of provincial Greeks. Apart from

[14] Levick 2007: 20. [15] See the analysis by De Souza 2007: 81 (quotation).
[16] Oliver 1989: no. 296.
[17] Paus. 7.27.44; Philostr. *Vit. Ap*. 5.41. Bosworth 1973: 60–1; Kantiréa 2007: 81–4.
[18] Cass. Dio 62.14.3; Suet. *Nero* 34.4. [19] See Mourgues 1990; Perrin 1990.

the egotistical bombast of the content, by this date Nero favoured speech rhythms of the kind which the Romans knew as 'Asian'.[20]

A noticeable engagement by the new dynasty of the Flavians with the ideal of the 'true' Greece manifested itself through choices advertising central esteem for Athens, Sparta, Delphi and Olympia. Vespasian funded building works at Sparta: perhaps more than routine petition-and-response.[21] Titus followed Claudius in accepting the archonship of Delphi in 84.[22] Domitian held the Athenian archonship.[23] He also carried out the repair of Apollo's temple at Delphi mooted by Antony over a century earlier, as a conspicuous Latin inscription placed on the temple announced.[24] The reverence for the antiquity of Delphi informing this intervention is suggested by the emperor's conservative response to an embassy from Delphi about the organisation of the Pythia: 'it is naturally right and pious to keep to the appointed time of the Pythian contest in accordance with the Amphictionic laws and not to tamper with any part of the ancient customs (*archaia ethē*)'.[25] His Capitoline games at Rome, the first permanent Greek *agōn* in the capital, were styled 'Olympian', no doubt to invest them with the aura of the games which Hadrian, half a century later, described as 'ancient' (*archaios*) and 'the most renowned (*endoxotatos*) of the Hellenic contests'.[26] There was also the authoritative precedent of Augustus, who, as we saw in Chapter 4, claimed the Olympic model for his Actian games.[27] To map these Flavian interventions – minor matters in themselves against the larger scheme of three imperial reigns – against what has been called 'Flavian ideology' is no simple matter. But it is notable that the new dynasty advertised its institutional continuity with the Augustan principate and that the official morality which it promoted recalls that of the first princeps: Vespasianic frugality after the excessive luxury of Nero; under Domitian, strikingly puritanical legislation including a revival of the Augustan laws on adultery, and a ritual exactitude which extended to insistence on the archaic penalty for a Vestal Virgin who broke her vow of chastity.[28] Turning to Flavian culture more broadly, if the historian Flavius Josephus can be seen in some sense as a Flavian spokesman, it is worth noting his positive presentation of Athens and Sparta, as well as the

[20] Oliver 1989: no. 296. Jones 2000. [21] *IG* v, 1, 691.
[22] *SIG*³ 817. [23] *IG* iii, 1091; *FD* 3.2.65; Philostr. *Vit. Ap*. 8.16.
[24] *SIG*³ 821A = *ILS* 8905. Weir 2004: 153 argues for the floor of the east pediment as the original setting of the great inscription.
[25] *SIG*³ 821C lines 2–3. Sánchez 2001: 450–1. [26] *AÉ* 2006: no. 1403, lines 61–62.
[27] Moretti 1953: no. 72, line 29.
[28] Legislation: Griffin 2000: 79–80. Vestal: Suet. *Dom*. 8.3–4; Cass. Dio 67.3.3–4.

Athenian choices of the former imperial administrator Q. Trebellius Rufus of Tolosa, noted in Chapter 3.[29]

Under Trajan the works of the younger Pliny and Tacitus provide glimpses of probably widespread attitudes to Greek culture among the (western) Roman elites which help to contextualise the choices of this Gallic knight. A century after Augustus, the 'new' Hellenism of the first princeps seems to have definitively constructed for elite Romans an 'old Greece' to which the admirable but irrecoverable glories of Greek culture were now assigned. A well-known letter of the younger Pliny, written in language strikingly similar to that of Cicero in the *Pro Flacco*, advises Valerius Maximus, a senatorial legate embarking on a mission to Greece, as follows:[30]

> Remember that you have been sent to the province of Achaia, to the true (*vera*) and genuine Greece, where civilisation (*humanitas*), literature, and agriculture, too, are believed to have originated . . . always bear in mind that this is the land which provided us with justice (*iura*) and gave us laws (*leges*), not after conquering us but at our request; that it is Athens you go to and Sparta you rule . . . (Pliny *Letters* 8.24.2; 4)

Within the corpus of Latin literature this text constitutes 'one of the rare literary letters constituting a true witness to the attitude of the Romans concerning Greek culture'. Pliny emphasises the moral impossibility for a Roman administrator of committing any offence against these remnants of Classical Greece: to do so would be 'hard, fierce, barbaric' (*durum ferum barbarum*).[31] Pliny evinces what was probably a widespread mindset among the elites of Trajanic Rome, to judge from the echoes detectable in Tacitus, whose attitude towards the Greeks was less unfavourable than is sometimes assumed. The author identifies himself as neither hostile to Nero's institution of Greek games at Rome nor sympathetic to Piso's invective against Athens, and carefully distinguishes the honour which Germanicus paid to Athens on his visit in AD 18, when he entered with a single lictor, as a homage, not to the Athenians themselves, but to the

[29] E.g. Joseph. *Ap*. 2.130: 'everyone agrees' that the Athenians are the most pious and the Spartans the manliest of the Greeks. For *Graecia vera* as a point of reference note *Ap*. 2.172–173: superiority of Jewish customs to Spartan and Athenian practice; *BJ* 2.358–360; 365: Agrippa I seeks to dissuade the Jews from rebellion by pointing to the submission of the Athenians, Spartans and Macedonians; *AJ* 12.225ff.; 13.164–165, 166ff.; 14.149ff.: marks of Athenian and Spartan esteem for the Jews, including the supposedly Spartan-initiated 'discovery' of *syngeneia* with the Jews and an honorific Athenian decree for the Hasmonean Hyrcanus, cited in full.

[30] For the addressee, the *corrector* of Achaia Sex. Quintilius Valerius Maximus, in office in the first decade of the second century, see *PIR*^{2} Q 25.

[31] Galimberti Biffino 2007: 287–9.

standing of their city as 'allied by treaty and ancient' (*foederique sociae et vetustatae urbis*).[32] As with Pliny, Tacitus recognised the gifts of ancient Greece to the development of a civilisation of which Rome was in some ways the heir.[33]

The legacy of Augustan Hellenism in the eastern provinces needs careful separation from that of Hadrianic initiatives. One consequence of the demonisation of 'Asia' in first-century BC Rome was to create, or fan, a certain repudiation of 'old' Greece among the Greek-speaking elites of Roman Asia Minor, whose cultural inheritance from the Hellenistic flowering of that region, not to mention the archaic age, was now to be officially played down. In itself the polemical Roman use of the terms 'Asia', 'Asian' and 'Asiatics' may have fostered a reactionary sense of a counter-culture where none had previously existed. Paul Veyne has rightly stressed that Athens was the object of a Greek debate both admiring and rancorous long before the advent of Rome.[34] Even so it is striking to find a position of dissent staked out precisely under Augustus in the text of Strabo, a Pontic Greek from Amasea and, in general, an Augustan enthusiast. The text reveals a determination to play down the cultural achievements of Athens, signalled by Strabo's disingenuous claim that he 'hesitates to be tedious (*pleonazein*) by joining the crowd (*plēthos*) of those who hymn and celebrate this city'.[35] Paolo Desideri has argued for Strabo's systematic 'occlusion' ('occultamento') of the Athenian cultural tradition in favour of a chauvinistic emphasis on Greek culture as essentially a product of Asia Minor. Without going so far, Johannes Engels, in an analysis of Strabo's omissions in his listing of famous Greeks, has diagnosed a similar neglect of Athenian (and Alexandrian) figures as part of Strabo's project 'to glorify the cities of Asia Minor as flourishing centres of Hellenic culture' by foregrounding the fellow citizens of Asia Minor, past and present, who were his '"peers"'.[36] Chronologically the next major author from Asia Minor to survive is Dio of Prusa, whose Rhodian oration somewhat crudely denigrates contemporary Athens as unworthy of her past. For Veyne, Dio's 'xenophobic insults measure the degree of jealousy that Athens inspired'.[37]

It is also clear that the picture of an oratorical 'revolution' offered by Dionysius, writing in the twenties BC, does not entirely correspond with

[32] Tac. *Ann.* 2.53.3.
[33] See the nuanced analysis of Malissard 2007.
[34] Veyne 1999: 548.
[35] Strab. 9.1.16 (C396).
[36] Desideri 2000: 38 (quotation); Engels 2005: esp. 130, 132–3, 138.
[37] Veyne 1999: 549; also 547 n. 197, citing Graindor's earlier diagnosis of Dio's 'systematic denigration of Athens at the expense of Rhodes'.

provincial realities, at least in Asia.[38] The impact of the Augustan promotion of the Attic muse is claimed by Dionysius as twofold: some adherents of the old manner 'are gradually deserting to the other camp [. . .] while those who are newly embarked on their studies despise this form of oratory and ridicule the cult of it'.[39] Above all, according to Dionysius, the stylistic signalling of the regime impacted on the rising generation. In practice, there was a time lag, of the kind which, in the field of material culture, the 'pumping heart' model of Roman cultural change has been used to explain:

> The first result of conquest is the inwards pull to Rome. Only in a second stage does Italy become a major production centre in its own right, and only in a third do the styles and tastes formed in Italy spread outwards. (Wallace-Hadrill 2008: 391)

With due caution, this model might also seem to illuminate the chronology of the fashions for Atticism and public declamation in the Greek east. As regards the first, in the longer term the official taste of Augustan Rome left its legacy in two major schools of Greek rhetoric in the first century AD, the Apollodorans, after the teacher of Octavian, and the Theodorans, after the teacher of Tiberius, both of which were 'oriented towards Atticism'.[40] By the turn of the first century AD signs of a broader literary Atticism are detectable in the first significant corpora of Greek literary writing after Augustus to come down to us, the works of Plutarch and Dio of Prusa. Both start to show '[t]he linguistic features which mark a text as atticist', albeit not yet the mania for lexical exactitude from the Hadrianic era onwards.[41] On the other hand, the slight evidence for the speaking style of orators from Asia Minor in the period down to Hadrian shows traces of the 'Asian' manner, even if this now was contained within the sphere of declamation rather than civic oratory addressed to the assembly.[42] This reluctance to jettison a style now widely perceived – as a result of Roman debates – as rooted historically in the cities of Asia Minor might reasonably be interpreted as another expression of Asian regional pride, aided and abetted by changing imperial priorities: the absence, after AD 14, of assertive central identification with 'Attic' taste, and, under Nero, the example of an emperor who, as we saw, favoured speech performance of the kind which the Romans knew as 'Asian'.

[38] Not a new observation: e.g. Wallace-Hadrill 1989: 161: little sign of Atticism in Latin prose of the early principate or in Seneca's declaimers.
[39] Dion. Hal. *De Or. Vet.* 2 (transl. S. Usher).
[40] Hose 1999: 287–8.
[41] Swain 1996: 27.
[42] Schmid 1887–97 I: 70.

IMPERIAL POLICY UNDER HADRIAN

It is tempting, but simplistic, to proffer Hadrian's personal tastes and disposition, not least his 'hellenising' relationship with Antinous, to explain his public benevolence towards Greek culture. Recent scholarship has called into question the extent to which Hadrian *qua* Roman emperor sought to identify himself with Hellenism as a cultural system.[43] The view taken here is that his Greek benefactions were an aspect of Roman imperial statecraft best contextualised by reference to the Hadrianic policy of consolidation and integration of the peoples and provinces of the empire. The nearest we come to an official enunciation of this policy is in the coinage of the central mint. In the modern debate about the historical usefulness of Roman coinage, the four series of coins with regional references which began to be issued late in Hadrian's reign are seen as clear exceptions to the general question mark over the emperor's direct role in the coinage and thus over its communicative intention. Even a minimalist view admits the unusual character of these emissions:

> This explosion of regional motifs stands out as quite exceptional, and essentially different from the main run of coin-types of the Principate. At least in its scale, this initiative was unlike anything that had come before, and it seems that it must reflect policy at a high level. (Duncan-Jones 2005: 463)

Of the four series, one celebrates the official arrival (*adventus*) of Hadrian in a province or region, a second his role as restorer (*restitutor*) of various provinces or regions and a third the regions themselves. Underlying these three emissions there seem to be two distinct themes. One is imperial benevolence, which the practical gifts to provincials (the *restitutor* series) proclaim. The other is a desire to represent the empire as a unity, even if there are regional omissions and even if this concept would not have been self-evident to an inhabitant of the empire from handling one or two of the coins only.[44]

These series obviously refer to Hadrian's two great tours of the empire. The spirit in which these were undertaken is shown by the usual depiction of the emperor in the *adventus* and *restitutor* series as togate, or less often in travelling dress, but never in military dress: 'he arrives as "princeps", not

[43] Especially Vout 2006. Doubts about the supposed statue of Hadrian in a himation from Cyrene are confirmed by Opper 2008: 68–70: head and body do not pertain, but were first combined in Victorian times. Vout 2007: 138–40 raises doubts as to whether, as some moderns have claimed, Hadrian's relationship with Antinous constituted in itself an imperial claim to a philhellenic identity. *Roman* signification of Hadrian's beard: Smith 1998: 90.

[44] I am indebted here to the analysis of Zahrnt 2007.

as "imperator"'.[45] One might add, too, that he arrives as a Roman citizen on official duty, not as a philhellene in the Greek costume affected by elite Romans at leisure. The contrast is marked with the earlier imperial tradition which normally represented the regions as conquered people.[46] Within this 'neuartige Konzeption' (Michael Zahrnt) of the Roman empire, there are various indications that, for Hadrian, the Greek-speaking provinces occupied a special place. Pausanias knew of an official inscription set up in Athens which listed 'all the sanctuaries of the gods which he (Hadrian) built from scratch, along with those which he adorned with offerings and improvements or gifts which he made both to Greek cities and to barbarian ones when they asked him'. The evocation of the *Res gestae* of Augustus is clear, except that, whereas Augustus almost without exception only recorded expenditure (*impensae*) and other benefits conferred on the Roman people, the Athenian monument proclaims Hadrian's systematic extension of the imperial largesse to the Greeks.[47] Close analysis of his provincial benefactions confirms this picture. Of more than 130 cities in which Hadrianic intervention is attested, apart from Italy and north Africa, most of these cities are located in the Greek east, 'especially in Achaea, Asia, Bithynia-Pontus, Syria and Cyrenaica'.[48] This partiality enacted a value judgement: Hadrian singled out for special care the peoples and lands of the great Mediterranean civilisation of which Romans felt themselves to be the cultural heirs.

Like some of his predecessors, Hadrian took Augustus as his avowed model, as explicitly emerges from his coinage, which from about 125 gives him a new imperial style, 'Hadrianus Augustus' or 'Augustus Hadrianus', and implicitly from imperial decisions and actions, notably his justification of his attitude to imperial expansion and his building patronage at Rome.[49] This professed identification with the founder of the principate should be borne in mind in evaluation of Hadrian's institutionalised partiality, within the larger Greek east, for the 'true' Greece, and, in particular, Athens, Sparta and Eleusis. It is important to stress that the official Augustan narrative of a Hellenism fit for Roman usage guaranteed the Romanity of this Hadrianic bias. The next section looks at what can be reconstructed of the ideology behind this preference, which is clearer than ever before thanks to evidence

[45] *CREBM* 3 (1936), clxxii (H. Mattingly).
[46] Zahrnt 2007; Cody 2003: 123: on 'the ideal of the Roman leader as a conqueror' on Flavian coinage.
[47] Paus. 1.5.5 with the observations of Zahrnt 2007. [48] Boatwright 2000: 206–7.
[49] Mattingly, *CREBM* 3 (1936), cxxxiv. SHA *vit. Hadr.* 5.1; 12.2; 19.9–10. Birley 1997a: 96–7; 108; 111; 147; 200–1.

brought to the fore in the last twenty years, which in turn tends to invalidate some older interpretations.

SPARTA

Whereas Augustus, so far as is known, only visited Sparta once, Hadrian did so twice, on each of his two provincial tours. He was only the second, and evidently was the last, Roman emperor ever to visit the city. In Sparta he 'revised' something, possibly local laws, as he did in Athens and other Greek cities.[50] Just as he held the Athenian archonship, as emperor he also held Sparta's eponymous magistracy, the patronomate, in AD 127/8: the only Roman emperor ever to do so. There is good reason to think that Hadrian's term as Spartan *patronomos* was no less considered than his term as Athenian archon around AD 112. The position required the incumbent to oversee what Spartan inscriptions of the second and third centuries AD called 'protection (*prostasia*) of the Lycurgan customs': that is, the old *disciplina*. The post was not infrequently combined with that of gymnasiarch, since the discipline was gymnasium-based in imperial times. Although Hadrian held the post *in absentia*, the patronomate was not a sinecure: the incumbent was supported by a college of junior colleagues, and his duties were performed by a proxy when the incumbent was incapacitated.[51] By holding this office, Hadrian reaffirmed the respect of the imperial state for the military traditions of Sparta and the ancient *disciplina* underpinning them.[52] His high esteem for the Spartan discipline is confirmed by a fragmentary inscription from Cyrene. As part of his revision of the city's laws, Hadrian appears to recommend 'Laconian' virtues of self-control and discipline to this Dorian city, considered a Spartan colony at one remove by virtue of its foundation from Thera.[53] As we saw in Chapter 2, Hadrian, like Augustus, was a reformer of the Roman army. He is associated with 'increased discipline, constant visits to the troops, and the unusual legend *Disciplina Augusta* on the coinage';[54] his image as a military figure has undoubtedly been neglected (further on this below). Finally, the perception that the Spartan

[50] Jones 1998: 264–5 with his reading and comments on lines 39–40 of Oliver 1989: no. 122.

[51] Kennell 1995: 44–5, 86–7. Cartledge and Spawforth 2002: 108, 201–2. *IG* v, 1, 543–4 (protection of the Lycurgan *ethē*).

[52] Hadrian may have chiefly had the costs of the *disciplina* in mind when he boosted Spartan revenues with gifts of territory: Cartledge and Spawforth 2002: 108–9.

[53] Oliver 1989: 279–81 no. 122, lines 42–43: *–La]kōnikē sōphrosunē kai askē[sis—]*. Reynolds 2000: 557: Hadrian 'probably undertook the function of lawgiver at Cyrene, perhaps with some especial stress on the inculcation of Spartan moral qualities in the young'.

[54] Mattern 1999: 206.

discipline of Hadrian's day continued the training of Lycurgus is shown by Sparta's response to this renewed imperial imprimatur: 'the conversion of *koinē* into laconizing forms' in the ephebic inscriptions from Hadrian onwards, in a simulation of the ancient Laconian dialect.[55] Here again, as with the priestly activity in Greece at the start of the principate, we catch a glimpse of the 'back-room' role of antiquarian research in the Roman-period 'renewal' of *Graecia vera*.

PLATAEA AND THE PERSIAN WARS

Hadrian held up for praise the glorious traditions of the Persian Wars, although the details are lost. Various items of evidence point to his being in some wise a patron of the Plataean commemorations. First and foremost, the 'council of the Greeks who meet at Plataea', the body which supervised the Plataean cult of Zeus Eleutherius and its festival, set up a statue or altar of Hadrian at Delphi as a thanks offering (*charistērion*) to 'emperor Hadrian the Saviour, who has rescued [the verb is *eruein*] and nurtured his own Hellas'. The enthusiastic language praises the felicitous outcomes of Hadrianic benefaction for Greece generally, not just for Plataea, and this helps to explain the choice of panhellenic Delphi as setting.[56] Secondly, Luisa Prandi has shown that between the lifetimes of Plutarch and Pausanias the number of separate war memorials at Plataea was reduced and rationalised so as to foreground the Athenian and Spartan part in the battle at the expense of the other *polis* contingents.[57] This action, clearly ideological and in the same spirit as the *dialogos*, strongly suggests an external impulse. Partly on this basis, Massimo Nafissi argued for a Hadrianic 'revitalisation' of the commemorative cults. His argument also rests on the epigraphic evidence for an augmentation under Hadrian in the prestige of the Plataean priesthoods, as inferred from the social calibre of a series of epigraphically attested incumbents in the second and third centuries, including at least two notables from the province of Asia and a Boeotian of senatorial rank. The earliest of the series, holding office probably late under Hadrian, was Ti. Claudius Attalus Andragathus of Synnada, Athenian archon in 140/1 and member of a Synnadan family of marked Romanity, including his brother's daughter, Claudia Basilo, the wife and mother of Roman consuls.[58]

[55] Kennell 1995: 87–93 is now the authoritative discussion. [56] *SIG*³ 835A. [57] Prandi 1990.

[58] Nafissi 1995, to which add the reedition of *IG* v, 1, 452 by Jones 1996b: 54–6 (*AÉ* 1996: no. 1388). For the possibility that Attalus was a Roman knight and an *amicus Augusti*: Oliver 1989: no. 101, line 45. Nafissi rightly shows that the legendary origin of Synnada as a combined Athenian and Spartan

ELEUSIS, ATHENS AND THE PANHELLENION

Athens and Eleusis emerge as the focus of Hadrian's interest in Greece as emperor. Before his accession Hadrian had probably already become an Eleusinian initiate, perhaps by the time of, or during, his Athenian archonship in AD 112. As emperor, he was present at the mysteries as an observer in 124, as an Athenian inscription makes clear; he must have been initiated already, presumably before he became emperor.[59] In 128, on the second tour, he returned to Eleusis for the higher initiation, indicated in Cassius Dio by the verb *epopteuein*.[60] Hadrian was the first emperor since Augustus to have been initiated and, like the first princeps, not once but twice. He was the first emperor to be linked with Eleusis in the official coinage: a sestertius depicts him wearing an 'Eleusinian' crown of ears of corn. His *imitatio Augusti* is made explicit in an issue of the semi-official cistophoric coinage of the province of Asia, dated to the latter years of Hadrian's reign, which pairs a portrait of Augustus (obverse) with a figure (reverse) holding the corn ears of Demeter and Core and the legend HADRIANVS AVG PP REN.[61] These issues suggest that Hadrian like Augustus used the Eleusinian cult to burnish an image of the emperor as the bringer of plenty, a suggestion supported by the fact that he, like Augustus, distributed grain to Athens. He did this with an unprecedented munificence, since his was an 'annual grain supply', a benefit now enjoyed by Athens alone of all provincial cities.[62]

Hadrian is associated with major building works at Eleusis. Eusebius records for the year 125 that he built a bridge over the River Cephissus on the way from Athens to Eleusis. Remains of this fine structure, identified by its Latin masons' marks, have been found 1 kilometre before the arrival of the sacred way from Athens at the sanctuary.[63] He also commissioned a great new gateway to the sanctuary itself, the so-called Greater Propylaia,

foundation gave the city a particular stake in the celebration of Plataea as an Athenian–Spartan victory. Other Plataean priests: Geagan 1972: App. 2.

[59] *IG* ii², 3620 = *Eleusis* no. 503. SHA *vit. Hadr*. 13.1 with Clinton 1989a: 1516–19.

[60] Cass. Dio 69.11.1. Clinton 1989a, believes that Hadrian's *epopteia* could have occurred as early as his archonship (112) and that Dio's language here is loose; repeated in Clinton 1989b: 56–7. Correctly (in my view): Birley 1997a: 215.

[61] Alföldi 1979: 585 with Taf. 38 Abb. 4 (sestertius); *CREBM* 3 (1936) clvii; clxi; 395 no. 1094 (cistophoros). Clinton 1989b: 57–8 interprets the figure as the god Ploutos with the features of Hadrian. Modern attempts to read the legend REN as '*ren(atus)*', 'reborn' in the spiritual sense, are controversial. It seems odd to abbreviate such a portentous (and unparalleled) message. Metcalf 1980: 90 supports the alternative expansion '*ren(ovavit)*' and refers it, more prosaically, to Hadrian's '"renewing" the [cistophoric] coinage in a very literal sense by restriking it'.

[62] Cass. Dio 69.16.1–3. Spawforth and Walker 1985: 90.

[63] Euseb. *Chron*. ed. A. Schöne vol. 2, p. 166. Travlos 1988: 178 and 190 fig. 244.

incomplete at his death and only finished by Marcus Aurelius. Demosthenis Giraud has shown that the design of this gateway deliberately reproduced the central building of the Propylaea of the Acropolis. For Cicero these original Propylaea (*propylaia nobilia*) contributed to the 'very beautiful appearance' (*species praeclara*) marking the 'ancient glory' (*vetus gloria*) of Athens. Hadrian's classicising choice emphasised the place of Eleusis, site of Demeter's revelation of her civilising gifts, in the old Athenian greatness.[64] As we shall see below, there are good grounds for seeing Hadrian's engagement with Eleusis, like that of Augustus, as a function of statesmanship as much as personal taste.

Hadrian as emperor wintered six times in the east, and on three of these occasions (124/5, 128/9 and 131/2) he based himself in Athens, where he had already held the archonship (112) while still a *privatus*. His personal predilection for the city is not in doubt. Pursuing the point just made, in this section the focus is on aspects of his Athenian activity which reveal typically Roman attitudes towards Athens and similarities, in particular, with the initiatives of Augustus and Agrippa 150 years earlier.

Typically Roman is the spirit of the reform of Athenian law which Hadrian carried out at Athenian request on the basis of the 'codes of Draco, Solon and the rest'.[65] Hadrian is credited with a list of new constructions at Athens which, for once, justify the notion of an 'imperial building programme'.[66] One project in particular bears a marked similarity in spirit to the Agrippeum. This is the huge monument known today as the Library of Hadrian:

> . . . his most famous things are the one hundred columns of Phrygian marble, with walls built just like the columns, and pavilions with gilded roofwork and alabaster, decorated with statues and paintings. Books are kept in them. (Paus. 1.18.9 transl. P. Levi)

This complex comprised cloisters enclosing a garden, exedrae or recesses for sitting outside, and lecture theatres, as well as the library proper. Gregory Nagy's characterisation of the library at Pergamum as 'a center of learning, as a sort of Institute for Advanced Study', looks equally applicable to Hadrian's Library.[67] Like Agrippa's odeum, Hadrian's Library is a tribute to the Athenian origins of Greek high culture (*paideia*). It knowingly references the ancient belief, shared by the Romans, that the tyrant Pisistratus created the first library in Athens.[68] In modern times the library has been

[64] Giraud 1989. Clinton 1989b: 64–8. Cic. *Rep.* 3.32.44.
[65] Euseb *Chron.* ed. A. Schöne vol. 2, p. 166. [66] Paus. 1.18.6 and 9.
[67] Nagy 1998: 213. For the library see Travlos 1971: 244–52; Casson 2001: 113–15. [68] Gell. *NA* 7.17.

read as a symbolic assertion of Roman supremacy over Athens.[69] At any rate, to the ancient viewer it must have proclaimed imperial Rome once again as a stakeholder in Athenian *humanitas*, an impression promoted, as with the Agrippeum, by an assertively Roman design, here based on Vespasian's Forum of Peace in the capital, and by the lavish use of, once more, Roman-style coloured marble. Nothing is known of how Hadrian filled the library, but a similar operation can be imagined to that of Domitian. When restocking the libraries of Rome, Domitian sought out copies of lost works 'everywhere' and sent scribes to Alexandria to check these copies against trustworthy versions.[70] As with the Agrippeum, Hadrian's Library was meant as an elite facility for all educated people attracted to Athens as a centre of learning. Infinitely grander than the privately funded Library of Pantaenus, the only other Athenian library known archaeologically, it provides a context for the exaggerated praise of Aelius Aristides for the libraries of Athens two decades later:

> Besides the libraries (*bibliōn tamieia*) are such as clearly nowhere else on earth, and they are a particularly proper adornment (*kosmos*) for Athens. (Aristid. *Or.* 1.354 (306D))

The same desire to promote the role of contemporary Athens as a cultural centre emerges from Hadrian's activity there as agonistic patron. He founded three new festivals at Athens, the Olympia, the Hadrianeia and the Panhellenia, and upgraded the status of a fourth, the Panathenaea, to so-called 'eiselastic' rank, thus making them more attractive to contestants, since victors were now entitled to pensions for life from their home cities. Authoritarian decisions which Hadrian took in 134 about the timing of the major Greek festivals show his concern to make room on the athletic circuit for the first celebration of the Panhellenia.[71]

The scale and quality of Hadrian's new buildings in Athens 'outstripped any other imperial gift to a provincial city'. The aggrandisement of the built environment to signal an imperial upgrading of civic status is ideologically very Roman. The purpose of this Hadrianic upgrading, as argued elsewhere, was to signal the cultural exceptionality of Athens in the view of the imperial state and, specifically, to make the city architecturally fit to play

[69] Too 2010: 47.

[70] Suet. *Dom.* 20 (. . . *exemplaribus undique petitis missisque Alexandream qui describerent emendarentque*.)

[71] Spawforth and Walker 1985: 90–1. Greek inscription from Alexandria Troas: *AÉ* 2006: no. 1403; Slater 2008 for English translation. Lines 71–73 of Hadrian's second letter to the guild of athletes ('B') concern the Panhellenia.

host to a new institution, the Attic Panhellenion.[72] The main point of the following examination of this much-discussed institution is to stress the Romanity of its conceptualisation of 'Greece'. This Romanity explains both the patchiness of the Greek reception of the Panhellenion, which subordinated Greek Asia to Greek Europe in terms of cultural ranking, and supports the epigraphical indications that it was the ruling power that instigated the Panhellenion, not the provincial Greeks themselves.[73] This evidence comes from a fragmentary decree of Lydian Thyatira set up at Athens and re-edited in 1997 with two new fragments. Dated between 131/2 and 138, the decree records Thyatiran gratitude to the emperor Hadrian for his Greek benefactions, among them the Panhellenion:[74]

> . . . both individually and in common the king has been a benefactor of all the Greeks, assembling from them that council, as a common mark of esteem, in the most brilliant city of the Athenians, the Benefactress, which gives to all at the same place the fruit (*karpos*) of the Mysteries, and when the Romans approved the most venerable Panhellenion by decree of the senate because of what he proposed.

The Thyatiran decree states for the first and only time in the available evidence, albeit obliquely, the chief *raison d'être* of the Panhellenion. It was an essentially religious organisation paying formal tribute to the culture-bringing role of Athens. Although Isocrates in the fourth century BC distinguished Demeter's two gifts to the Athenians, her mysteries on the one hand and agriculture on the other, the expression 'fruit of the Mysteries' in the Thyatiran decree suggests a melding of these two benefactions in the redactor's mind.[75] The orator Aelius Aristides, already alive at the date of this decree, took a marked interest in the Eleusinian myth underpinning this role, summing it up in his Panathenaic oration. The Athenians, being the first inhabitants of the earth, were the first to whom the gods revealed agriculture. The Athenians then became like gods for other men by sending Triptolemus, the Eleusinian prince, to all lands to share the revelation. Thus Athens became 'mother city of the crops (*karpoi*)'. In his speech *On Rome* he describes what he calls 'life before Triptolemus': 'harsh, rustic, and little different from living on a mountain', until 'Athens initiated our present,

[72] So Spawforth and Walker 1985: 92.

[73] Spawforth 1999 on this point (Jones 1996b *contra*), accepted by Romeo 2002: 22; Gordon 2003: 249.

[74] This translation supersedes that of Spawforth 1999: 340 and is indebted to the revised text of Jones 1999a (= *AÉ* 1999: no. 1479, with French translation), especially his improved edition and translation of lines 16–17.

[75] Distinction: Isoc. *Paneg.* 28, noted by Mylonas 1961: 308 as evidence that '[t]he two gifts are separate and distinct'.

cultivated existence'.[76] Along with the mysteries, this legendary gift is why, in the Thyatiran decree, Athens is called 'Benefactress', *Euergetis*.

The cultic function of the Panhellenion, emphasised by Jones, is now supported by archaeological evidence for the ceremonial headgear of the Panhellenes.[77] An inscription from Aezani, published in 1992, revealed that the Panhellenes wore crowns with imperial busts attached ('bust-crown'): these referenced the cult of the founder, Hadrian Panhellenius, and his imperial successors, which they tended. A portrait head from the Athenian agora, published in 2007, very probably depicts a Severan Panhellene wearing one of these crowns, which turns out to be made of three parts (Figure 5). The middle element was a band decorated with 'tiny, pointed, single-lobed leaves', apparently representing myrtle leaves and referencing the crowns of myrtle worn by priestly officials at Eleusis.[78] These discoveries reinforce other evidence for the strikingly close connection of the Panhellenion with Eleusis, including the construction of a pair of honorary arches in the forecourt of the sanctuary which the Panhellenes collectively dedicated to Hadrian and the two goddesses. They also dispatched to Eleusis offerings of 'first fruits (*aparchai*) of Demeter's harvest', from the sale of which on two occasions they set up permanent dedications in the sanctuary.[79] The mythical rationale for these *aparchai* is given, once more, by Aristides:

> But the memorial and proof of that divine mission [of Triptolemus] and benefaction to all men are the yearly offerings of the first fruits (*aparchai*) of the seed, which came here in former times from the Greeks. (Aristid. *Or*. 1.37 (167–168D))

This custom is well attested in the late fifth century BC, when Athens asked her allies to contribute. In those days the newly harvested grain was shipped to Eleusis, where it was used in sacrifices, the surplus then being sold off to fund dedications. Evidently the membership of the Panhellenion, either collectively or individually, arranged similar shipments.[80]

[76] Aristid. *Or*. 1. 31–38 (165–168D); 26.101 transl. C. Behr. Day 1980: 15–17 notes these and other passages in Aristides showing his interest in Triptolemus, but misses their contemporary, i.e. Roman, resonance.

[77] Jones 1996b.

[78] Riccardi 2007. It needs stressing that M. Ulpius Appuleius Eurycles of Aezani, whose office-holding in the Panhellenion is symbolised in the Aezani inscription by a bust-crown, is attested (Oliver 1970: nos. 28–30) as Panhellene and only as Panhellene, i.e. a member of the council of the Panhellenion, to which the bust-crown presumably refers, *pace* Riccardi 2007: 381–4.

[79] Arches: *Eleusis* no. 448; Spawforth and Walker 1985: 102; Clinton 1989b: 58–63, whose dating (begun under Hadrian, finished in Antonine times) is preferred here. *Aparchai*: *Eleusis* no. 504 (late 170s or early 180s) and 532 (sometime in the second century?); Spawforth and Walker 1985: 100.

[80] Procedure: Clinton, *Eleusis*, vol. 2, 3–7. Compare the mysterious *aphraktoi*, two official vessels which the Rhodians sent annually to Corinth in the time of Dio of Prusa: *Or*. 103. Veyne 1999: 545 n. 178 and 547 n. 199.



Figure 5 Portrait head from Athens probably depicting a Panhellene.

In sum, the bust-crown of a Panhellene enunciated the essential tasks of the Panhellenion. Firstly, it offered collective worship of the founder. This display of loyalty was probably part of the original concept, although the testimony of Cassius Dio can be interpreted to show that the polite fiction was fostered that Hadrian had graciously assented to an initiative from the membership.[81] Secondly, it offered collective thanks to Athens for the universal Eleusinian gifts of the mysteries and the agricultural revelation heralding the momentous transition from 'the days before Triptolemus' to the era of civilisation. The imperial state in effect had now 'institutionalised' this legend.

Scholars have discussed possible models in Greek history for the Panhellenion. A number, including myself, have seen a Hadrianic inscription

[81] Spawforth 1999: 344–7.

from Delphi, dated 125, as proof that before Hadrian founded the Panhellenion in 131/2, he contemplated expanding the Delphic Amphictyony into, in the words of the text, 'a council representative of all the Greeks'. This inscription in fact records the report of a senatorial commission about a reform of the Amphictyony, and its findings seem to reflect the older Roman misconception (see Chapter 4) that the Amphictyony was a *concilium Graeciae*. Hadrian rejected the senatorial recommendation, and the argument of Pierre Sánchez is surely correct, that Hadrian never intended the Amphictyony to become 'the instrument of his panhellenic programme'. This follows above all from the fact that the Panhellenion, as we now know, was a homage to the Eleusinian goddesses, not to the Apollo of Delphi.[82] There was no exact precedent in Greek history for the Panhellenion, despite earlier use of the unitary term 'Panhellene' in Greek institutions of imperial date.[83]

THE ETHNIC IDENTITY OF THE PANHELLENION

Apart from the 'mission statement' as reconstructed above, the Panhellenion was unprecedented by dint of the scope of its membership, bringing together Panhellenes from Greek cities in all three continents of the eastern Mediterranean. So far the list of Roman provinces drawn on in this way embraces Achaia, Epirus, Macedonia, Thrace, Asia, Crete-and-Cyrene and Pisidia.[84] The evidence of inscriptions points to the conceptual elevation of European Greece within the Panhellenion, as shown not only by the whole centrality of Athens and Eleusis but also by the importance of a colonial foundation from Europe for overseas applicants for admission. 'In the ideology of the Panhellenion, the relationship between mother-city and colony is in fact the fundamental tool for the validation of a community's Hellenic status.'[85] Clear cases include Magnesia-on-the-Maeander, 'colonists of the Magnetes in Thessaly', and Cibyra, a 'colony of the Spartans and kin of the Athenians'.[86] Cibyra is a good example of an indigenous city in Asia which

[82] *FD* 3.4, no. 78, col. II, lines 1–6. Spawforth 1999: 341–2 (wrongly). Sánchez 2001: 434–5 (with different but cogent arguments: the elevation of the Amphictyony in this way would have been unfair to other provincial leagues, notably the Achaean).

[83] Jones 2008, with new evidence for 'Panhellenes' in a Samian inscription, perhaps referring to the *koinon* of Asia.

[84] Spawforth and Walker 1985: 80 Table 1. From this list Synnada, although almost certainly a member, should be removed in the absence of clear evidence (Jones 1996b: 40) and Nicopolis (*SEG* 50.199, a Nicopolitan agonothete of the Panhellenia), Naryx in eastern Locris (*SEG* 51.641) and Timbriada in Pisidia (*SEG* 55.1449) added.

[85] Romeo 2002: 26. [86] Oliver 1970: no. 5 (Magnesia). *SEG* 53.1090 (Cibyra).

created a legend giving it the noblest of (European) Greek origins. In a fragmentary inscription from Cyrene Hadrian himself in 134/5 contrasts the 'Achaean and perfectly Dorian race' of Cyrene, to which he therefore gives two seats on the Panhellenion, with her Libyan neighbour, Ptolemais Barca. He concedes that the Barcans are 'true Greeks' (*ithageneis*), but rates their Hellenism lower owing to their 'additional name' (*prosēgoria*), 'Ptolemais'. They therefore receive only one seat. The standard of Greekness which the imperial state imposed via the Panhellenion can be summed up as follows. The 'old' or 'true' Greece, located in Europe and containing the most 'noble' Greek cities, Athens, Sparta and (to a lesser extent) Argos, ranked first. Second came Greek cities which, although not in Europe, were grafted from mainland stock. That members of this group engaged in 'cultural work' in order to brush up their claim to Greek ethnicity at about this time is shown by the allusion of Aelius Aristides to *poleis* that 'go about seeking somehow to trace themselves back (*anenegkein*) to you (Athenians)'.[87] This passage confirms the ideological pre-eminence of Athens as a mother city in the post-Hadrianic Greek world. Within this group, however, making the connection with Europe was what was critical. This is suggested by the case of Aezani in Phrygia, acceptable as a member city thanks to a legendary foundation from Arcadia – despite the question mark over the Hellenicity of the mythical progenitor of the Arcadians, Arcas, who belonged to a 'lineage that finds no point of correlation with the Hellenic genealogy'.[88] Coming third, finally, as the case of Ptolemais Barca suggests, were cities with an ethnic Greekness considered acceptable although with a taint, one which we would call 'Hellenistic', but which the Romans would probably have thought of as 'Macedonian'.[89]

Ilaria Romeo has, rightly I believe, emphasised the divisiveness of this insistence within the Panhellenion on defining Greekness by birth and race and not through *paideia*: the mastery of Greek language and culture. This conception challenged the aspirations to a Greek identity of contemporary culture-Greeks such as Favorinus of Arelate, not to mention the indigenous peoples of Asia Minor and the Roman near east who now lived the Greek lifestyle (*diaita*). Here perhaps is an explanation, if one is required, of the silence of contemporary Greek-imperial writers about the Panhellenion: Aelius Aristides, after all, hailed from Mysia, and Pausanias from Lydia:

[87] Ael. Aristid. *Or.* 1 334 (299D) (transl. C. A. Behr).
[88] Paus. 8.4.1 cited by Hall 1997: 47. Romeo 2002: 29 for this 'anomaly'.
[89] Cyrenean inscription: Oliver 1970: no. 120 with *SEG* 46.2206 incorporating the restorations of Jones 1996b: 47–53. Spawforth 1999: 349–50.

both may have been culture-Greeks, not 'ethnic' Greeks.[90] Romeo also drew attention to a passage in the Arab translation of the *Physiognomy* of Antonius Polemo, the celebrated orator from Smyrna whom Hadrian invited to deliver the speech at the dedication of the Olympieum in 130:

> I will mention the forms of the Greeks whose forms are pure and nothing from the other races is mixed with them. They are a people who share in their land. Others have become numerous among them, because people want them and their land, either for the pleasantness of their life and their moderate temper and passion, or out of a desire for their knowledge, their good way of life and their laws. They are the people of Argos, Corinth, and other lands of theirs.[91]

The likelihood that Polemo has Roman interlopers in mind in this passage seems small, if only because the great age of Italian migration to the eastern Mediterranean was long gone and in Polemo's day the assimilation of the old communities of *Rhōmaioi* was well nigh complete, quite apart from the fact that Corinth actually was a Roman colony.[92] Romeo is surely right to see here a manifestation of the same 'hierarchy' of Hellenism detectable in the text of Philostratus' *Lives of the Sophists*.[93] Polemo seems to be asserting the moral superiority of pure-bred Greeks in the face of the influx of culture-Greeks from all over the eastern Mediterranean to the centres of *paideia* in this period, Smyrna included, where Polemo sought to exclude them from his classes.[94] As Romeo also saw, Polemo's insistence on racial Greekness was probably in dialogue with the (by now) long-standing Roman opposition of Asia to Europe. For Polemo, physiognomy served to distance the 'authentic' Greeks of Asia Minor from the indigenous Asiatics now living *à la grecque*.

Overall, the ethnic identity of the Panhellenion articulates, deliberately no doubt, the loosely constructed theories of the Romans (taken over from the Greeks) about the relationship between environment and character, which we looked at in Chapter 1. These seem to have been part of a general outlook among educated Romans, to judge from Quintilian, noting that races (*gentes*) have their own character (*mores*) based on birth, that people

[90] In particular, the silence of Aristides in the Panathenaic, especially when noting the *aparchai* 'in former times' sent to Athens, or widespread claims of colonial ties with Athens, seems rather pointed. A similar point could be made for Pausanias, given, on the one hand, his stress on Hadrian's benevolence to Greece, Athens in particular (1.3.2; 1.5.5; 1.20.7; 1.36.3), and, on the other, his Lydian regional pride, for which see Spawforth 2001: esp. 388–92.

[91] Translation by R. Hoyland of ch. 35 of the Arabic version of the *Physiognomy*: Swain 2007a: 427.

[92] Swain 2007b: 198–9 for the view that Polemo has the Romans in his sights, despite the ancient Romanity of his family, which 'produced many consulars, and still does', according to Philostr. *VS* 1.25 (530). Swain 2007b: 157 also notes the family's long history of 'absolute support for Rome'.

[93] Follet 1991: 207.

[94] Philostr. *VS* 1.25 (531). Aelius Aristides, a (?) culture-Greek relocated from Mysian Hadriani to Smyrna, may exemplify the type.

are generally regarded as resembling their parents and ancestors, and that with cities the founder in this respect takes the place of the parent, or the Hadrianic historian Florus, recycling Livian views on the decadence of the Galatians 'just as the seeds of cereals degenerate in a different soil'.[95] The fact that (western) Romans shared such views with at least some (eastern) Romans, judging from Polemo, meant that the Panhellenion was not just the crude 'top–down' imposition of alien Roman values on the eastern provinces. On the other hand this dominant conception suggests how the need to maintain a strictly 'Roman' definition of Greekness outweighed any central commitment to using the Panhellenion to promote a broad-based panhellenism based on unity of culture. The 'anti-Asian reflex' so marked in Roman circles in the later first century BC is again evident under Hadrian, constituting one of those 'cultural arbitraries' submission to which, within the milieu of the Panhellenion, signalled a subject community's acceptance of Roman cultural authority. The question of whether the Roman opposition of Europe to Asia was *deliberately* intended as divisive is deferred to the end of the chapter.

THE MILITARY DIMENSION: THE 'EASTERN HADRIANIC BREASTPLATE TYPE'

Buraselis has emphasised that the ancient documentation of Hadrian's peacetime activity in the provinces, including his foundation of the Panhellenion, suggests that he was acting out his own ideas rather than reacting to provincial requests.[96] Further inferences about the fit between his actions in Greece and a broader imperial purpose can be gleaned from an art-historical document, the so-called 'Eastern Hadrianic Breastplate Type'.[97] Seventeen copies of this imperial statue type are now known, all from the eastern Mediterranean, where it was evidently popular. Two, one from Hierapytna and another from Piraeus, are sufficiently similar, without being quite identical, to show that they reflect the same, lost, original, a statue prestigious enough to be copied in this way and probably, given the iconography, set up in Athens. The anonymous creators

[95] Quint. *Inst.* 3.7.26; 5.10.24. Florus 1.27.11. These ideas were Livian favourites: cp. Liv. 37.54.17 for the argument that, where colonies are concerned, a change of habitation does not change *genus aut mores*; 37.56.17 (another speech), arguing (on the contrary!) that human stock like seeds loses its excellence when transposed to another soil, illustrated by the degeneracy of Macedonian colonies in the east and 'Spartan' Tarentum.

[96] Buraselis 2006.

[97] Gergel 2004; Bergmann 2010 (now the fullest study, including publication of the copy in the Piraeus Museum).

and adapters of the type are best seen as eastern sculptors whose commissions of imperial statues presupposed the commissioners' desire to display loyalty: that is, the iconography will have been chosen to chime with imperial ideas as understood at subject level. The best-preserved copy, from Hierapytna, depicts a full-length Hadrian as a Roman imperator in military dress, his weight on his right foot, his left resting on a prone barbarian, and his lost right arm, which was raised at a right angle to the body, probably once holding a lance (Figure 6). The imperial breastplate is decorated in relief with a central scene showing the Roman wolf suckling Romulus and Remus and, standing on the wolf, an armed Palladium figure in archaistic style, a snake and an owl at her feet, flanked by two winged Victories who are crowning her. As Birgit Bergmann has clarified, the Roman wolf, also depicted on coins of the imperial mint at Rome in the years 125 to 128, is the symbol of the eternity of Rome, a strong theme under Hadrian, as shown above all by his introduction into the capital of the worship of the goddess Roma with the cult epithet Eternal ('*Aeterna*'). The Palladium figure references the famous Trojan Palladium in the temple of Vesta, encountered in Chapter 4. As another aspect of the eternity of Rome, the Hadrianic cult statue of Eternal Roma held a replica of this 'pledge of empire' in her outstretched hand. The Victories flanking the Palladium evoke the related theme of *Victoria*, the everlasting victory of the empire and its emperor. The owl and snake, however, were attributes of the Athena of Athens. For the Greek viewer, these attributes extended the possible meanings of the breastplate scene, since they made the Palladium a symbol of Athens too, her closeness to Rome shown by her position astride the Roman wolf. The scene could then be read as an allegory for the eternal preservation of Athens (the Palladium) and Rome (the wolf).[98]

The battered version of the same statue type from Piraeus shows Hadrian in the same pose and makes clear that it and the Hierapytna figure both copy the pose of the lost original, featuring this same iconography of the imperial foot on the neck of a barbarian, a motif first found in public representations of the Roman emperor under Domitian. In the Hierapytna statue the barbarian figure in its original form was probably bearded and wore a Phrygian cap, and was thus characterised as 'Oriental'. In addition, the marble support for the figure of Hadrian depicts in relief a quiver, arrows and bow, attributes which identify the barbarian specifically as

[98] Bergmann 2010: 235–9, rightly rejecting (n. 73) the modern interpretation of the scene as the triumph of Athens over Rome as iconographically implausible and, of course, politically impossible in a publicly displayed representation of a Roman emperor.



Figure 6 Statue of Hadrian from Hierapytna (cast, Museo della Civiltà Romana, Rome).

Parthian.[99] Bergmann is surely right to argue that this image of the lance-wielding imperator, victorious over the (eastern) barbarian, was meant to

[99] Bergmann 2010: 255–6 with n. 129 points out that no other copy is sufficiently well preserved to show if this specificity is a Hierapytnan variant or belonging to the prototype.

emphasise the role of the emperor as the guarantor of peace. She points out that the Parthian attributes may have been a Hierapytnan variant. In fact the characterisation of the barbarian threat to the eastern provinces as Parthian/Persian would be entirely in keeping with a long-standing imperial theme taken up enthusiastically by the Greeks themselves from Augustus on, as we have seen.

Bergmann hypothesises that the lost original was the cult-statue of Hadrian Panhellenius, which would have been commissioned shortly after the founding of the Panhellenion in 131/2 for erection in the Athenian shrine of the same name. This is a not unattractive possibility, which would be strengthened were there any Eleusinian reference in the breastplate iconography. Alternatively, the fact that up to five copies (from a total of seventeen) were probably or certainly found in Athens/Piraeus makes one think of the multiple statues of Hadrian erected by eastern cities in the precinct of the Olympieum at the dedication ceremony two years earlier, in 130, attended by Hadrian in person. These included a 'colossus' set up by the Athenians 'behind the temple', reckoned by Pausanias as 'worth seeing' and as 'outdoing' the others.[100] This open-air and permanently visible figure could well have become a prestigious prototype which other Greek cities then copied and adapted. Either way, the original figure must have been designed to meet with Hadrian's approval and therefore can reasonably be understood as a provincial interpretation of imperial ideology. The breastplate proclaims in some wise the integration of Athens and Rome. There remains room for debate as to exactly what 'Athens' means here. If the prototype cannot be firmly anchored to the cult of Hadrian Panhellenius, Bergmann's idea that 'Athena' here stands for 'the Greeks united in the Panhellenion' cannot be accepted without reserve. Viewers who knew Athens might have been put in mind of the *Athenian* Palladium if, as argued in Chapter 4, this was the *hedos* remade by 'the Buzyges and priest of Zeus in Palladium' under Augustus. More generally, an archaistic representation of the Athena of the Acropolis surely evoked the *vetustas* of Athens and the whole cultural paradigm based on past Athenian gifts. On this view, the type might seem to express C. Ando's summation of how Hadrian restated the Roman imperial ideal:

> A perceived change in Roman policy toward expansion allowed provincials to view the ideals and aims of their government as their own: all could now share a vision of humanity that bound residents of the empire together in opposition to those outside. (Ando 2000: 337–8)

[100] Paus. 1.18.6.

The Hadrianic regime placed a new emphasis on the integration of the great Greek civilisation into the Roman empire, but it did so on by now familiar Roman terms: the Greek achievements to which Rome was indebted and which Hadrian championed publicly were cultural, they were European, and they belonged to the past, above all the past of Athens. The ideological thrust of his total package of benefaction in Achaia went in this same direction. The Panhellenion was in effect a public proclamation of imperial commitment to this nuanced *interpretatio Romana* of Hellenism, which was to be defended, ultimately, by Roman arms.

What is striking is, indeed, the sculptural emphasis on the martial role of the emperor as protector of *humanitas*. In 2008 an exhibition at the British Museum, suggestively entitled 'The Emperor Hadrian: Empire and Conflict', stressed the military image of Hadrian and argued for 'a very clear political and strategic side to Hadrian's philhellenism, in addition to the cultural one'. Reflecting on the contrast between the Hierapytna statue and the image of the peace-loving philhellene emperor in the modern literature, Thorsten Opper, the curator, has commented: 'One might wonder if the popularity of this type in the Greek east does not reflect a different reality: the emperor as a protector of the Greeks from their barbarian and perhaps Jewish foes.'[101]

The standard modern image of the peace-loving Hadrian can also colour archaeological interpretations. Excavators of the Library of Hadrian in Athens have found a colossal statue of an armed *Victoria* standing on a globe. Reused in an Ottoman reservoir in front of the western façade, this monolith over 3 metres high is unlikely to have been moved far from its original setting. The model for the type was the famous statue of Victoria Romana in the Senate House in Rome. In publishing the statue, Alkestis Spetsieri-Choremi allowed for a Hadrianic date on grounds of style, but preferred an Augustan one, partly on the a-priori view that Hadrian is supposed to have advocated peace, not war.[102] In fact, a prominent statue of Victoria Romana presiding over the scholars in the Library would fit very well with the iconography of the 'Eastern Hadrianic Breastplate Type'.

At least in part, sculptural accents in the provinces must reflect Hadrian's own self-representation, which stressed his function as commander-in-chief of the Roman war-machine. This emerges again from the coinage of the Roman mint, specifically the 'Exercitus' series issued at the same time (in the last years of the reign) as the three 'Province' series discussed above. These coins depict the imperial harangue (*adlocutio*) of the troops, with Hadrian either in the field, on horseback, or in quarters, standing on a

[101] Opper 2008: 70. [102] Spetsieri-Choremi 1995: 143–7.

platform, with twelve provincial armies specifically named, all of them stationed in 'essentially "imperial" provinces in the sense of the original division between Emperor and Senate, provinces still requiring the personal attention of the "imperator", the master of the armies'.[103]

Hadrian's Wall remains perhaps the most enigmatic monument of imperialism anywhere in the world. The possibility that Hadrian commissioned the wall in northern England in part to symbolise Roman might cannot be proved. It is a tempting inference, however, not least because there is good evidence that it was seen as special, contemporary interest generating '"souvenir" products'.[104] In the following reign the orator Aelius Aristides, whose family owed its Roman citizenship to Hadrian, shows a general awareness of the recent emergence of 'walls' at the edges of the empire. In his Roman oration, originally delivered in 155, he uses a Homeric quotation to illustrate their high-quality masonry construction and gleaming quality. This suggests specific, if vague, awareness of Hadrian's Wall, which was unique for its time among Roman military barriers in its massive masonry construction for part of its length and which also was faced with white stucco so that 'it would gleam in the sunlight and be visible for miles'.[105]

Veyne has noticed the 'unexpected' attention which, in general, this speech pays to the Roman army and wondered if 'Aristides was a realist who thought that the Greeks had everything going for them save an army, and that they needed the legions to defend them?'[106] By the time of this speech, the eastern provinces had witnessed the Bar-Kochba Revolt, a major challenge to Roman control of the province of Judaea which Hadrian suppressed with difficulty.[107] The true backdrop to the martial image of Hadrian was the military crisis at his accession. This crisis required military action against the Britons and Jewish rebels in Cyrenaica and Egypt, and prompted the new emperor to surrender Trajan's three new provinces in the near east and a part of Moesia. In the main this crisis unfolded well away from the Aegean Greek heartland, with the significant exception of the Roman province of Crete-and-Cyrene. The Cyrenaica was the

[103] *CREBM* 3 (1936), clxxii–clxxiii (H. Mattingly).
[104] Breeze 2009: 99; Mattingly 2006: 213–14 ('souvenirs'); Opper 2008: 84.
[105] Aristid. *Or.* 26.83 (transl. C. A. Behr): 'These walls have not been built of bitumen or baked brick, nor do they stand gleaming with stucco – but there are also these usual kinds of walls in each place, and many of them indeed, closely and carefully fitted with stone, as Homer said of the house wall, and they are immense in size and gleam with more brilliance (*stilpnoteron*) than bronze.' Aristides' point (84) is that the real wall is human, formed by the Roman legions stationed around the edges of the empire. Oliver 1953: 938 makes the link with Roman frontier works. Stucco: Birley 1997a: 133.
[106] Veyne 1999: 565–6. The suggested analogy between the Han Chinese and their Manchu overlords ignores the fact that Aristides, as a Roman citizen, was himself in some sense 'Manchu'.
[107] See the re-evaluation, with new evidence, of Eck 1998.

flashpoint for the revolt of Diaspora Jews between AD 115 and 117. Cassius Dio gives a blood-curdling, if rhetorical, account of the rebel atrocities.[108] Archaeology and epigraphy show that the ancient Greek colony of Cyrene was badly damaged by the rebels, who deliberately targeted the Greek civic infrastructure, including the venerable temple of Zeus – they sapped its colonnade –, the gymnasium and the baths. Hadrian as emperor gave orders for the revival of Cyrene as a Greek city and took a direct interest in the gymnasium-based education of the ephebes.[109] To judge from findspots, the 'Eastern Hadrianic Breastplate Type' was more popular in the province of Crete-and-Cyrene than in any Roman province other than Achaia, yielding six certain copies from the total of seventeen, including the Hierapytna figure and a copy from Cyrene itself.[110]

OPPOSITION?

The evidence of inscriptions for the 'reception' of the Panhellenion offers some insight into provincial attitudes to Hadrian's initiative. A certain reticence among Greek-imperial authors from provincial Asia can be claimed, as noted earlier. The three leading cities of the province of Asia, Pergamum, Ephesus and Smyrna, are not attested as members. That this datum is more than epigraphical serendipity is suggested by the origins of the top office-holders: again, as yet no archon of the Panhellenion or agonothete of the Panhellenia is attested from the Asian mainland.[111] The distribution of the seventeen copies of the 'Eastern Hadrianic Breastplate Type' suggests a similar story: no specimen has yet been found in Asia Minor.[112] Is it possible to detect here more of the Asian regional pride and antagonism to Athens noted earlier? In line with the analysis of Romeo, however, within Asia Minor there were regional differences of attitude. Aezani in the Phrygian interior was an enthusiastic member, at least to judge from its only known Panhellene, M. Ulpius Appuleius Eurycles, who remained in Athens 'for the entire period' of his term on the council from 153 to 157, something evidently worthy of remark and therefore unusual, and who, once back in Aezani, dedicated a local bridge to various deities including Hadrian Panhellenius and the Eleusinian goddesses.[113] Aezani, an indigenous

[108] Cass. Dio 68.32. [109] Reynolds 2000: 552–6.

[110] Bergmann 2010: 234 (map). Cat. nos. 4–5, 10–11, 13–14, with a further two dubious examples (28–29) from Cyrene. This local concentration, and the possible link with the Diaspora revolt, is rightly noted by Vout 2006: 121.

[111] Spawforth and Walker 1985: 81, 84–6; Spawforth 1999: 343. [112] Bergmann 2010: map.

[113] Oliver 1970: no. 30 lines 11–12; Spawforth 1999: 343 with n. 20 noting the comments of M. Wörrle. *SEG* 42.1191.

community, may well have seen the Panhellenion as a means of gaining recognition for the mainland (European) origin which it claimed. The activities on the European mainland of Andragathus of Synnada, another city in the Phrygian interior, seem to speak to a comparable local impulse. Aezani and Synnada show that some indigenous cities of the Asian interior saw mileage in identifying themselves with 'old' Greece. Another response may have been to highlight pride in *non*-Greek origins. Is it possible to detect a mild truculence in the resurgent Lydian ethnicity of this period, or in the claims to autochthony of some Asiatic cities, or to Assyrian origins or even, in the case of Phrygian Apamea, to a link with Noah's Ark?[114]

Even if the collective pride of the Pergamenes or Ephesians was an obstacle to these cities applying for membership, it is hard not to see something Roman, and specifically 'post-Hadrianic', in the rush of prominent individuals from Asia Minor, these cities included, seeking association with the 'true' Greece. They included the Roman senators A. Claudius Charax of Pergamum, suffect consul in 147, C. Claudius Titianus Demostratus of Ephesus, quaestor of Achaia around 150, both of them *patronomoi* at Sparta; Arrian of Nicomedia, another consular, and Athenian archon in 145/6; M. Iulius Apellas of Carian Mylasa, archon of the Eumolpidae; and the anonymous citizen of (?) Smyrna who held priestly office at Plataea.[115] Personal tastes and preferences no doubt played a part here. Hadrian's signalled partiality for old Greece could also have prompted imitation, on the 'courtier' principle, by leading provincials seeking imperial patronage. The Panhellene Eurycles of Aezani used his time in Athens to collect testimonials to his culture (*paideia*) from the archon of the Panhellenion and the Areopagus; he subsequently entered Rome's service as a *curator*.[116] The examples of Charax and Demostratus, if their cities did indeed hold aloof from the Panhellenion, show the difficulty of generalising even about a single city's attitude to the Hadrianic promotion of old Greece, which could be an opportunity to some, an affront to others.

In Greece itself, opposition to the Roman elevation of 'old' Greece is hard to diagnose. The historian's attention focuses on attestations of sedition in the province, of which three episodes are known. The first, mentioned in earlier chapters, was the revolt in Athens in the last years

[114] Lydian identity: Spawforth 2001. Others: Strubbe 1984–6: esp. 267–8.

[115] Spawforth and Walker 1985: 92–3; 1986: 91 with n. 74, noting also M. Tigellius Lupus of Ephesus, an Athenian citizen and office-holder *c.* 135 (see now Byrne 2003a: 451; the extremely rare *nomen* suggests descent from a diaspora Roman). Note too the senator Sex. Iulius Maior Antoninus Pythodorus of Nysa, benefactor of the Asclepieum, Epidaurus (*PIR*^{2} I 398). Refs.: Cartledge and Spawforth 2002: 180–1.

[116] Spawforth and Walker 1985: 89–90.

of the reign of Augustus. According to Orosius, it was serious enough to combine with a Dacian uprising in the same year in prompting the closure of the temple of Janus at Rome. Eusebius and St Jerome, drawing on the same source, describe the revolt as *res nova contra Romanos* and record the execution of its 'authors'. Epigraphic evidence points to the presence in Augustan Athens of an imperial legate, perhaps at this time. The verb used by Syncellus, *stasiazein*, would suit an intra-Athenian conflict which got out of hand.[117] The other evidence belongs to the post-Hadrianic age. The Historia Augusta claims a *rebellio* in Achaia under Hadrian's successor, Antoninus Pius, about which nothing more is known, not even if a single city was involved, rather than general unrest; if the former, it must have been a leading centre to have entered the historical record.[118] Under Marcus Aurelius, between 168 and 172, Sparta experienced *neōterismoi*, revolutionary unrest – the Greek term exactly matches the Latin expression for the Athenian sedition, *res nova*. Apparently this unrest prevented the filling of the post of eponymous *patronomos*, the supreme overseer of the *disciplina*, although not, it seems, of other magistracies, since there was a board of ephors as usual in the Spartan year in question.[119]

There may be no common thread here, and generalisation on such thin pickings is anyway methodologically unsound. Even so, the evident fact of serious unrest at different times in the two showcases of Roman Hellenism, Athens and Sparta, prompts reflection. Levick has rightly underscored that the 'new' or 'Roman' Hellenism emerging under Augustus was 'a costly fashion'.[120] It did indeed constitute a financial burden on the cities involved, Athens and Sparta not least. One thinks of the obligation of the *genos* of the Buzygae to supply oxen every year for the sacred ploughings, or the five years of ephebic service at Roman Sparta instead of the one year which was the Greek civic norm in imperial times (Chapter 2). As we have seen, in general all this resurrection of the 'true' Greece was heavily reliant on religious rituals and festivals, the bill for which was picked up, much of the time, by local notables. As has been argued here, this cultural movement was essentially a concern of the civic elites, who orientated it to those in Roman society who were either their peers or placed above, not below, them. The abandonment of the sliding stage in the Spartan theatre by Flavian times suggests competing pressures to satisfy a mass appetite for the popular culture of the day, including the pantomime

[117] Graindor 1927: 41–4 citing the sources; Bowersock 1987: 292 with n. 2; Hoff 1989: 275–6.
[118] SHA *vit. Pii* 5.5. Veyne 1999: 526–7 n. 69.
[119] *SEG* 11.486.9–10; 501.7. Cartledge and Spawforth 2002: 116 with 253 n. 19.
[120] Levick 2000: 634.

artists whose enthusiastic reception precisely at Sparta prompted oratorical censure from Aelius Aristides. This lost speech is one indicator that Roman Sparta was kept under external surveillance for signs of derogation from ancestral custom, just like Roman Athens (Chapter 3).[121] How much ordinary provincials knew or cared about such elite concerns is unclear. The little that is known about popular taste in Athens suggests a liking for gladiatorial and wild-beast shows.[122] It is unknown whether the mass audiences for such spectacles, people without advanced education and often illiterate, were equally attentive to the cursing of the Buzyges or the trial of the axe in the Prytaneum. At any rate, it seems worth suggesting that the diversion of elite funding into the recreation and maintenance of archaistic rituals could be socially divisive, and on rare occasions, especially when civic finances were under pressure, perhaps explosively so. This was, after all, an age in which provincial communities were both vocal and critical about how civic benefactors chose to spend their money.

ATTICISM AND THE SECOND SOPHISTIC

Recent research has made clearer the moral dimension which makes the advocacy by Dionysius of Halicarnassus of 'Atticism' in Greek rhetoric so evocative of the Augustan order and its preoccupation with moral rearmament. For Romans the *genus Atticum* in oratory, whether Latin *or Greek*, came to define subjectively a manner of speaking which could be claimed to conform to Roman standards of excellence and moral propriety. Athens provided a canon of Greek orators with specific stylistic traits which Romans sought to imitate, whether speaking in Latin or in Greek, because they were perceived as embodying 'Roman' qualities. Since educated Romans saw Athens as the cradle of civilisation, the idea(l) of Athens provided them with a metaphorical point of reference: in a linguistic context, Athens symbolised purity. As suggested in Chapter 1, the Roman case in favour of an 'Attic' declamatory style had something to do with rejection of the taint of effeminacy.[123] For a variety of ethical reasons, therefore, Roman admiration for the *genus Atticum* long outlived the Augustan age. A century later Quintilian, the Flavian authority on rhetoric, asserted that 'to speak in the Attic way is to speak in the best way'.[124] The view taken here is that this equation of 'Attic' with 'Roman' captures precisely why it was, in the Roman east of the first and second centuries AD, that 'the

[121] Lib. *Or.* 64 (Foerster). See Cartledge and Spawforth 2002: 188–90.
[122] Dio Chrys. *Or.* 31.121–122. SHA *vit. Hadr.* 19.2–4.
[123] Roman and Roman 2007: ch. 3. [124] '*Attice dicere esse optime dicere*': *Inst.* 12.10.25.

ability to Atticize, however in practice that was defined, was a central and exclusive marker of elite identity'.[125]

This Roman judgement received renewed support from Hadrian. According to the historian Aurelius Victor, Hadrian established a Greek cultural centre in Rome called the Athenaeum, to be devoted to instruction in the liberal arts (*ingenuarae artes*). The view of Graindor, that Hadrian deliberately sought to invoke Athens, capital of Hellenism, in the capital of empire, has been challenged on the argument that an Athenaeum/Athenaion, on analogy with similarly formed terms in Greek such as 'Apollonion', should mean simply 'shrine of Athena' and need not refer to Athens at all. On the other hand, the Hadrianic equation of the goddess Athena with 'Athenian' civilisation is clear from the 'Eastern Hadrianic Breastplate Type'. In the third century Athenaeus could describe Athens as the 'Mousaion of Hellas'. 'Mousaion', literally 'shrine of the Muses', here has its literary and educational sense of school. It would therefore have been an original but entirely appropriate action for Hadrian to create a centre for Greek studies in Rome called, and equipped as, a 'shrine of Athena' in order to highlight the 'Attic' character of the Greek high culture which he sought to provide for in the capital.[126] The only performance in the Athenaeum of which we hear in this period, a Greek declamation by Hadrian of Tyre, a pupil of Herodes Atticus and holder of the chair of rhetoric in Athens, entirely supports this interpretation.[127]

There can be no doubt that this reassertion by Hadrian of the prestige of the Attic muse at the heart of empire reinforced the Atticising tastes of the Roman ruling class. The *Panathenaicus* of Aelius Aristides, in so many ways a speech of its time, praises the 'purity' of Athens, a city which 'has always provided its people with honest, pure and uncorrupted customs', including a language which was 'clear, pure and pleasant' and thus an example for all.[128] In his day, the ability to operate linguistically in an Atticising register of Greek was the hallmark, or at any rate the goal, of elite education in the Greek language. The fashion now was to speak and write 'in archaizing language based on the "Attic" dialect used in Athens of the 5th and 4th centuries BCE', with the aid of specialist lexica if needed.[129] That the patronage of the imperial court and high Roman society in Antonine times promoted this fashion is suggested in a number of ways. Firstly there is the figure of Cornelianus, who held the post of Greek secretary (*ab*

[125] Whitmarsh 2005: 42–3.
[126] Aur. Vict. *Caes.* 14.1–4; Athen. 5.187d–e (Masurius speaking). Graindor 1934: 176; Braunert 1964 (with full ancient refs.); Boatwright 1987: 202–4.
[127] Philostr. *VS* 2.10 (589). [128] Arist. *Or.* 1.15 (transl. C. A. Behr). [129] Whitmarsh 2005: 42.

epistulis Graecis) under Marcus Aurelius. His 'Atticising' influence on other speakers as an orator in the emperor's courtroom is described in glowing, and exaggerated, terms by the grammarian Phrynichus, who dedicated his work on Attic vocabulary to Cornelianus:

> . . . you Hellenized and Atticised the imperial courtroom and became the teacher, not only of the proper diction, but also of (other speakers') *schēma*, glance, voice and *stasis*. Therefore the kings of the Romans thought you worthy of the highest honours, and set you to manage all the affairs of the Greeks, placing you beside them as a guardian, in theory appointing you as *ab epistulis*, but in reality choosing you as a partner in their kingship.' (Phrynicus *Ecloga* 357(356) ed. E. Fischer)[130]

This new dominance of pure Attic in the imperial courtroom for cases heard in Greek chimes with the picture presented by the Syrian Lucian, writing in the mid second century AD. In his *On Salaried Posts in Great Houses* he sympathises with educated Greeks who took teaching posts in private houses at Rome, where they suffered the arrogance and stupidity of the women as well as the men, including ethnic stereotyping of an age-old Roman kind. The work makes very clear that the only sort of Greek which these rich Romans wanted to be taught was Attic: 'their language must seem full of the flavour of Attica and Hymettus'.[131] Another work by this upwardly mobile, Greek-speaking Syrian confirms how far the fashion for correct 'Attic' diction had permeated the corridors of Roman power. To quote Simon Swain's summary of the work in question:

> Take first the remarkable essay called *A Slip of the Tongue During a Greeting*, in which [Lucian] defends himself for greeting a Roman governor at the governor's levee with the word *hugiainein* ("good health"). This greeting was in fact appropriate for evening time and Lucian should have said *chairein* ("have joy").[132]

Lucian's sense of catastrophic faux pas reveals not only the 'tightly rule-bound' world of the atticisers but also that Greek-speakers were particularly fearful of the social scrutiny of their speech by, or at any rate in the presence of, elite representatives of Roman power. Galen, the Pergamene doctor who rejected Atticism in the interests of medical clarity, explicitly links this phenomenon of 'atticizing in speech' with people who care for 'reputation, reward, wealth, and political power'.[133] Here is a clear statement of the Romanity of the fashion for linguistic Atticism in the second century AD. Such Atticism was a fashion in line with the behaviour one would expect from a social stratum oriented toward the top, in the 'direction of the emperor, and . . . certainly no longer dependent on those placed below

[130] See Millar 1977: 227. [131] Lucian *Merc. Cond.* 35.
[132] Swain 1996: 47. [133] Gal. *De alimentorum facultatibus* 2.11 (584) (transl. O. Powell).

them'.[134] Apart from Cornelianus in Rome, one of the most influential 'atticizers in speech' was Herodes Atticus, the Athenian consul and sophist. In general there is little if any evidence to suggest that the declamations of the sophists – a prime arena for the display of competitive Atticism – were heard by, let alone aimed at, audiences of ordinary Greeks: the honour for which they strived was granted, or withheld, by social peers or superiors.[135]

Herodes took the Athenian politician and orator Critias (one of the Thirty Tyrants) as his model. Herodes' school was the first, so far as is known, to see the use of a specifically 'Attic' vocabulary (lexical Atticism, that is) as the crown of the speaker's art. The influence of Herodes was felt above all among his pupils. These included the emperor Marcus, employer of Cornelianus, as well as a large number of the sophists chronicled by Philostratus.[136] The general closeness of this family to the imperial house needs stressing.[137] Above all it owed its elevation in Roman society to Hadrian, under whom the father of Herodes attained the suffect consulship late in life (133) and Herodes himself was launched on his senatorial career as quaestor of the emperor (124), going on to attain the extraordinary honour of an ordinary consulship in 143, only five years after Hadrian's death.[138] As argued in Chapter 2, the cultural stance of this family over three generations sought deliberately to emblematise the Roman ideal of *Graecia vera*. Herodes' oratorical style must have constituted a key constituent of the 'Romano-Attic man' (*Atticus*) whom he arguably sought to incarnate.[139]

The life of Herodes is the centrepiece of the collection of biographies of sophists composed by the Athenian Flavius Philostratus in the third century AD. Philostratus presents what essentially was a 'new breed' of public speaker as a continuation, indeed summation, of the best traditions of Classical Athenian oratory.[140] Tim Whitmarsh has observed that 'it clearly matters greatly to Philostratus to root the movement he describes, and indeed names, in the prestigious tradition of classical Athens'.[141] Yet the Romanity of the second sophistic is marked. For the most part the orators whom Philostratus documents were virtuoso public declaimers from (usually) privileged backgrounds: eastern versions of a Roman social type which first emerges in our evidence in late-first-century BC Rome.[142] This bilingual

[134] Quotation from Winterling 2009: 48.
[135] On sophistic audiences note Swain 1999: 160.
[136] Schmid 1887–97 I: 193–5, 201–2.
[137] As the family itself stressed in the statuary decorating the nymphaeum built by Herodes at Olympia: Smith 1998: 75–7.
[138] Birley 1997a: 177. Eck, Holder and Pangerl 2010 (date of the father's consulship).
[139] Smith 1998: 78–81 on the portrait type of Herodes, emphasising his Hellenic identity and unusual for its time in that it 'draws all its important ideas from Greek portrait images of around 300 BC'.
[140] Sidebottom 2009: 97.
[141] Whitmarsh 2005: 5.
[142] Bowersock 1969: 13 defines a sophist as a 'virtuoso rhetor with a big public reputation'.

milieu in the capital had strong links with Asia Minor and above all Smyrna, home of Cestius Pius and, possibly, the elder Nicetes, a likely ancestor of the younger Nicetes of Smyrna with whom Philostratus begins his collection, as seen in Chapter 2. Taking the orators of Philostratus overall, the first two generations, between the late first century and Hadrian's reign, were almost entirely from Asia Minor or, at any rate, active there.[143] Sophists, in the sense of virtuoso public declaimers in Greek, were already active in the Roman east before Philostratus' Neronian start date for the second sophistic. Apart from Seneca's declaimers, the Jewish Alexandrian Philo comments on the wanderings of 'sophists' from city to city in pursuit of glory in his day, the early first century AD,[144] and Graham Anderson has drawn attention to the sophist-like figures in the late republic known from Strabo and (as noted above) the elder Seneca. The question then arises of why Philostratus began his history when he did.[145] One answer is that the dominance of the (Greek) declamatory milieu by the social type on which his history concentrates first became marked – in his view and perhaps in historical reality – under Nero, a chronology for the rise of Greek *declamation* in line with the 'pumping heart' model of 'Roman re-hellenization' adumbrated earlier. For Philostratus, that is, what distinguished the second sophistic was its social composition: the fact that it engaged, not just a lower tier of easterners who taught for a living, but representatives of the provincial elites who declaimed in public from choice – people, that is, from the same high-status background as himself.[146] A recent prosopography of '(Greek) orators and sophists in the inscriptions of the imperial age' has highlighted the frequency of Latin nomenclature among the Greek-speaking orators of this period. In some cases these names advertise 'Greek' Romans, in others descendants of the Italian diaspora: precisely the sort of people who, as noted in Chapter 1, could provide a conduit for an 'acculturative discourse' between west and east. Reflecting on this material, Bernadette Puech rightly

[143] Romeo 2002: 35–6.

[144] Anderson 1989: 84–7. Winter 2002: 95–108, arguing that the sophists of Philo *De Agricultura* 32.143 were sophists in the accepted sense, and noting the neglect of Philo in discussions of the second sophistic.

[145] See Bowersock 1969: 8–9; Anderson 1989: 84–6 (on the 'restricted perspective' of the *Lives of the Sophists*).

[146] Bowie 1982; Anderson 1989: 146–52, who suggests that 'on present evidence the social spectrum of the sophists deserves to be broadened'. But the list of sophists on whose parentage Philostratus makes no comment, since it includes the likes of Aelius Aristides, Nicetes of Smyrna and Hordeonius Lollianus, does indeed, as Anderson concedes, look more like a reflection of Philostratus' ignorance; for these people, and the rest of the list: Anderson 1989: 148 n. 450. Note Puech 2002: 23–4: 'the orators of the imperial era are, *as such*, both cultural *and* political figures'.

sees a need to distinguish 'l'hellénisme qui triomphe à cette époque' from 'la grécité'.[147]

As Maud Gleason has shown, a preoccupation with the assertion of masculinity and the avoidance of effeminacy marks the performance personas of Philostratus' sophists. One of them, Antonius Polemo of Laodicea and Smyrna, also expresses these concerns in his *Physiognomy*. A recent study of this work concludes that androgynous and associated words form one of its six 'main clusters of negative moral terms'.[148] The use of declamation in Greek to construct one's manhood before an essentially elite audience helps to explain the popularity of martial themes, especially the Persian Wars, held up by Cicero as proof of ancestral Greek *virtus*. Although nowhere stated by ancient writers or (to my knowledge) modern scholars, it seems worth suggesting a link between the Romanity of the sophists and the Asiatic origins of many of them, on the one hand, and the Roman stereotype of Greeks, especially *Asiatici*, as unmanly on the other. (Sophistic) declamation offered a testing theatre for presenting not only one's mastery of culture but also one's conformance to masculine ideals, or one's knowing play with them, before audiences which, in major centres like Athens or Ephesus or Smyrna, would have included high-ranking Romans as well as provincial peers. Declamation presented itself as a socially prestigious medium for constructing a cultural self in a Roman world for those from the more marginal lands of the eastern Mediterranean who did not have access by birthright to the traditions of *Graecia vera*. Atticism can be understood as a form of elite self-empowerment in this same sense, for Syrian Greeks such as Lucian or the Ulpian of Athenaeus whose fervent Atticism earnt him the teasing nickname '*Syratticus*'.[149]

As their choices in portrait sculpture suggest, in the second century the eastern elites thought of themselves as having both Greek and Roman identities. The latter could be expressed in honorific monuments through costume choice in sculpture (toga; cuirass) and advertising of Romanity (loyalty to the emperor, Roman statuses and offices) in the accompanying inscriptions.[150] The Hellenism which their Greek identity asserted, however, cannot be assumed to have lacked a Roman referent. The 'negotiated deal with Hellenism' which Roman identity had achieved in the second century has been characterised as only a 'tepid embrace' on the Roman side, one which left 'Roman identity intact'.[151] The arduous business for

[147] Puech 2002: 33, 327–30. [148] Gleason 1995; Swain 2007b: 190 (quotation).
[149] Athen. 3.126f. [150] Smith 1998.
[151] 'The customary and normal scorn of a Roman for any contemporary Greeks must now [i.e. in the second century] undergo some abatement or disguise': Syme 1958: 511–12 cited by Smith 1998: 63.

eastern elites of fashioning a suitably 'Roman' Hellenism in the face of the normative prejudices of (western) Romans helps to explain another phenomenon of this period, the apparent drive to have one's Greek cultivation (*paideia*) certified, notably at Athens and Sparta. At Athens the two official bodies found acting as certificators in this way are the Areopagus, generally a body approved by the Romans, and the (Attic) Panhellenion itself.[152] The same compulsion, part cultural, part social, underlay the honours which the city of Sparta awarded 'for the sake of his cultivation (*paideias heneka*)' to eastern notables of a decided (onomastic) Romanity from the edges of empire, figures such as Ti. Claudius Montanus *qui et* Hesychius of Trapezus on the Black Sea, Flavius Asclepiades *qui et* Alexander of Syrian Caesarea, and M. Ulpius Genealis of Augusta Traiana in Moesia.[153] This whole phenomenon was surely wider than the fragmentary evidence suggests. It is cognate with one strand in the mix of contrary Greek responses to the foundation of the Panhellenion, namely, enthusiasm, at any rate in a place like Aezani, situated in relation to the Greek heartlands in a cultural space aptly characterised by Jones as the Greek 'mid-west'.[154]

One reason for the slight showing among the imperial-Greek orators of figures from provincial Achaia (with the very obvious exception of Herodes) is that, in Greece proper, tending the flame of *Graecia vera* through priesthoods, magistracies, benefaction and so on constituted an alternative route to acquisition of social prestige in an imperial-Roman world. Since Augustus at the latest, these activities crucially enabled what in effect was a sub-field of *Roman* culture. It is unsurprising, therefore, that leading lineages at Athens and Sparta gained a satisfactory level of social recognition from taking up a prominent place for generation after generation in the public life of their ancestral cities. The mistake would be to assume that, by adopting this behaviour, these notables in some sense chose to renounce social advancement on the Roman stage. The contention of this book is that Augustus first, reinforced by Hadrian second, made Greece a platform for the performing and reproduction of a fundamentally Roman vision of Greek culture. Precisely by 'staying Greek' in this directed way, the Pratolaus family (Sparta) or the ancestors of P. Herennius Dexippus (Athens) also presented themselves as markedly Roman.

[152] Areopagus: *IGRom* 3.733; *OGIS* 505; J. Crampa, *Labraunda* 3.2 (1972) no. 66. Panhellenion: *OGIS* 504, 506–7 (Eurycles of Aezani), addressing its 'certification' to the city of Aezani, the Asian *koinon* and the emperor Antoninus Pius.

[153] Refs.: Cartledge and Spawforth 2002: 180–1.

[154] Jones 1999b.

Conclusion

This book has argued against any notion that Greece fell into a state of history-free limbo following imperial incorporation in 146/5 BC and entry into the *longue durée* of Roman rule. It argues for two exceptional turning points in Greek history under the principate: firstly under Augustus and secondly under Hadrian. Unusually, both these reigns were marked by wide-ranging imperial initiatives concerning the provincials. As regards the eastern Mediterranean, under both emperors the imperial state publicly defined a Hellenism suitable for Roman usage and (therefore) for incorporation into official 'Roman' identity. Augustus was reacting to various pressures and debates at the dawn of the imperial monarchy: anxiety about Roman decadence, defined in part by concerns over gender roles gone awry; anti-Asian sentiment, nurtured by Octavian but already present in Roman thought; the political need to 'sell' the principate to a provincial audience. What began under Augustus was a new process whereby Rome, in Ando's words, 'supplied the initial articulation of the values to which residents of the empire orientated themselves as members of its community'.[1] Augustus sought to identify values which he and his circle thought of as central to what it was to be Roman. Where Greek culture was concerned, an 'imperial style of signalled incorporation' made clear the 'pure' brand of Hellenism that the ruling power sought to uphold as morally acceptable to Romans. Essentially this was the ideal of *Graecia vera*. The moral advantages of this ideal from a Roman viewpoint were that it consigned Greece's admirable achievement to a distant, and therefore unthreatening because irrecoverable, past; and it firmly disconnected this ancient achievement geographically from Asia by rooting it in the more virile soil of Europe, where nature and climate had once supported even a Greek martial spirit, as emblematised by the Sparta of old and by spectacular Greek victories over eastern barbarians. This cultural lineage aimed at conferring a new

[1] Ando 2000: 5.

respectability on Hellenism: on making it 'Roman', in effect, so that the Greek *humanitas* which imperial Rome claimed to champion and with which members of its ruling elite identified, to judge from Pliny and Tacitus, could be seen as compatible with *mos*.

That Augustus had come up with a winning formula, that is, with a way of packaging Hellenism which found enduring acceptability among many Romans, is suggested by the fact that Hadrian essentially restated the formula when he in turn sought to signal a new stage in the incorporation of Hellenism into Roman culture. Not only did this have the authority of the founder of the imperial system firmly stamped upon it, but also it seems to have conformed to a moralising notion of what it was to be 'Roman' still meaningful among the ruling classes of the empire in the first half of the second century AD, one which remained incompatible with the unconditional embrace of Greek culture – as the taunt of *Graeculus* levelled at Hadrian himself goes to show. Hadrian also operated within an imperial environment that had evolved since the Augustan era. He was certainly aware of Christianity, since an ancient tradition claimed that the works of Quadratus and Aristides, the first Christian apologists, were presented to him at Eleusis.[2] There is also a case, not accepted by all scholars, for seeing a Eusebian passage as evidence that Antoninus Pius wrote to the Panhellenes about the Christians.[3] But it is not at all clear that Hadrian had a 'policy' concerning religion that departed significantly from traditional Roman views: 'he cared most diligently for *sacra Romana* and was contemptuous of foreign cults'.[4] What can be diagnosed with more confidence as a development from Augustan times is the greater central impulse towards imperial integration under Hadrian, with its concomitant need to restate the benefits of Roman rule to provincials. One theme here, to judge from Aristides, was the Roman army and its ability to defend his glittering world of Greek *poleis*. The 'Eastern Hadrianic Breastplate Type' suggests that Hadrianic policy was received in (some) provinces as the manifestation of a Roman commitment to defend (Greek) *humanitas* by means of (Roman) *imperium*. A virtue of the ideal of *Graecia vera* was that it gave a religious aura to the origins of this civilisation, since the story of Triptolemus was one of divine revelation. The huge popularity in the second century of the Eleusinian mysteries, at the heart of which stood the wonder of this story, suggests the unifying power of the elevated Eleusinian ideal.

[2] Jer. *De vir. ill.* 19–20; *Ep.* 70.4; both passages cited and translated by Galimberti 2010: 78–9.
[3] Euseb. *Hist. eccl.* 4.26.10 with Spawforth and Walker 1985: 83–4. *Contra* Jones 1996b: 36–7.
[4] SHA *Hadr.* 22.10.

Hadrian's reign in retrospect marked the high-water mark of imperial support for the Augustan brand of Hellenism, although imperial successors followed him in signalling their continuing alignment with the brand down to the mid third century. In a remarkable development Antoninus Pius, although not an Eleusinian initiate himself, presided over a ceremony in Rome in which the hierophant T. Flavius Leosthenes received his *strophion*, the insignia of his priesthood, in the imperial presence. Lucius Verus, Marcus Aurelius and Commodus, Severus and Gallienus were Eleusinian initiates, all but Severus as emperors.[5] Lucius took a Spartan contingent with him when he campaigned against the Parthians; so did Caracalla half a century later.[6] Marcus expressed his concern for the 'glory' (*doxa*) and 'ancient dignity' (*palaia semnotēs*) of Athens and sought to protect the prestige of the Areopagus.[7] In (probably) 264/5 the emperor Gallienus was archon at Athens.[8] Arguably the real break only came with the official adoption of Christianity and the gradual outlawing of the ritual polytheism which had served since the time of Augustus as the chief vehicle for an edited re-presentation of *Graecia vera* to the Mediterranean elites. As the value of these rituals ceased to be recognised by the imperial state, so local notables are likely to have rechannelled their support for them in new directions: definitively so after 395. Long before, the Antonine constitution of AD 212, followed by the foundation of Constantinople in 324, on a site scarcely more than a stone's throw from Asia, must have rendered increasingly obsolete the old oppositions between, respectively, Romans and Greeks and Europe and Asia. The old theme of Greek victory over eastern barbarians may still have maintained some currency at imperial level in late antiquity, if the serpent column was transferred from Delphi to Constantinople (by Constantine?) not just as a decorative trinket, but as a symbol of Plataea.[9] Still in situ in the former hippodrome, this relocated monument would then be the last material witness to the staying power of the Augustan official narrative.

The idea that this narrative had a culturally divisive impact on the Greeks themselves in the first and second centuries AD, at any rate at elite level, has already been broached in discussing signs of Asian regionalism in the principate. To assume that the use of culture to divide subjects in this way was a conscious aim of the imperial state would go well beyond the ancient

[5] Antoninus: *SIG*[3] 869 = *Eleusis* no. 483. Clinton 1989a: 1526, 1529–32, 1534–5.
[6] Spawforth 1994a: 239–40. See Kennell 2009 for the character of these Spartan troops with prior experience as *diogmitae* in the civic militia.
[7] Oliver 1989: no. 184, esp. lines 57–58. [8] SHA *vit. Gall.* 11.3–5; Follet 1976: 141–3.
[9] Jung 2006: 378–81 for this possibility.

evidence. Such an aim is not, for that reason, to be excluded. It may have held a political appeal for Augustus in particular, since he achieved his position thanks to victory over a largely hostile Greece and Asia unified under the rule of Antony. Even so, there should be no underestimating the force of the Roman moral imperatives underlying the oppositions on which this narrative played. If the initial construction and then the longevity of this narrative are admitted, further questions arise, too, about Greek elite identities, and attitudes to Roman rule, under the principate. These complex questions cannot be addressed here. In recent scholarship they have been explored mainly through Greek-imperial literature, with equivocal results.[10] In the light of the official narrative it might be worth re-examining certain emphases in Greek-imperial literature, not just linguistic but cultural. One thinks of Plutarch's concern to present past Greeks, especially Athenians, as military, not just intellectual figures, or his animus against Herodotus, who gave Plutarch's native Boeotia, and especially Thebes, a less than starring role in the Persian Wars;[11] or the conception of European Greece in Pausanias; or the overall tenor of the Panathenaic oration of Aristides. When writers such as Dio of Prusa tilt at Athens or Sparta, should we detect their veiled critique of the official narrative? Unless one believes in Hellenism as a quasi-national identity in imperial times, a position to which this book does not subscribe, the idea of an imperial Romanity which juxtaposes Roman elements with Greek to create common ground between western and eastern elites should be allowed, and, indeed, explored further. A key argument of this book should not be abandoned, however, which is that the imperial state did not set out to negotiate this Romanity with Greek-speaking subjects. In the final analysis, this was a Romanity signalled from above and emerging from the west.

[10] On this vast subject, e.g. Veyne 1999, rejecting the influential interpretations of Bowie 1974 and Swain 1996. See Hutton 2008 for the modern debate on a single passage in Pausanias (8.27.1).

[11] Lamberton 1997 notes Plutarch's emphasis on Greek men of action in the Parallel Lives and his 'emphatic thesis . . . that the military accomplishments of Athens far outweigh her intellectual ones in their contribution to her fame' in the *De glor. Ath.*

Bibliography

ABBREVIATIONS

In addition to other standard abbreviations the following are used:

CID = *Corpus des Inscriptions de Delphes*
CREBM = *Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum*
Eleusis = Clinton, K. 2005–8. *Eleusis: The Inscriptions on Stone*. 3 vols. The Archaeological Society at Athens: Athens
LGPN = *Lexicon of Greek Personal Names* (1987–)
LTUR = Steinby, M. 1993–2000. *Lexicon Topographicum Urbis Romae*
RP = Rizakis, A. and S. Zoumbaki. 2001. *Roman Peloponnese* I. *Roman Personal Names in their Social Context* and Rizakis, A., S. Zoumbaki and Cl. Lepenioti. 2004. *Roman Peloponnese* II. *Roman Personal Names in their Social Context* (Meletemata 31, 36)
ThesCRA = *Thesaurus Cultus et Rituum Antiquorum* I–V + index vol. (2004–6)

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